

THE SYMBOLIC USE OF CLOTHING IN GRECO-ROMAN
LITERATURE AND THE GOSPEL OF LUKE:
THE PORTRAYAL OF CHARACTER IDENTITY THROUGH
CLOTHING

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Abstract

This work investigates the use of clothing in conveying symbolic meaning in Greco-Roman literature and the Gospel of Luke. This investigation considers both the symbolic meaning conveyed by the clothing regarding literary characters portrayed by that clothing, as well as the semantic bearing this symbolism has on the story or narrative in which the characters are functioning.

Utilizing Paul Ricoeur's theory of symbols and Roland Barthes communication theory of clothing, this thesis considers the cultural and material world of clothing in 1st century BC to 2nd century AD as it bears on the literary use of clothing symbolism within the cultural literary world contemporary to Luke's gospel, and the literary-symbolic world created by the texts under investigation.

This thesis is attentive to potential constraint of culture and literary genre by investigating key elements of character portrayal through clothing in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, and Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*. It then moves on to investigate symbolic elements of clothing in the character portrayals of Jesus and key portrayals of other figures in the Gospel of Luke. The key aspects of symbolism portrayed through clothing in these texts as examined by this thesis include portrayals of virtues and vices, honor and shame, divine power, righteousness, status, and ethnicity.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The capacity for clothing to symbolically convey meaning through its portrayal was a reality widely understood and utilized in the Greco-Roman world. In that world clothing could communicate something about one's character, values, status, and function in society among a host of possible meanings. In essence it conveyed something about who someone was at the core of their being. As such, ancient literature often utilized clothing to convey meaning in ways that corresponded to the ways in which clothing was utilized to convey meaning in everyday culture and society. What could be said about one's character with a story could also be said with a brief but vivid description of one's clothing in that story, and clothing might even function as an important lens through which the audience was expected to view that person.

Yet this cultural framework of so viewing clothing prevalent in the ancient world is often lost in the modern-day Western culture affected by factors such as the impact on the material realities of clothing by modern industry and our heightened occupation with those material realities, to name but two. Accordingly, up until the last two decades there has been little attention given in sociological and classical studies to the role that clothing plays in conveying meaning within the material cultures of societies in general, Greco-Roman or otherwise. Due to figures such as Roland Barthes and others, however, attention has recently turned to the critical role that clothing plays in understanding cultures and their values.

To date this resurgence has had little impact on biblical studies. Within the New Testament corpus, only two monographs have been published, of which I am aware, on the use of clothing in portraying symbolic meaning, and these focus exclusively on Pauline texts and the broad literary and/or cultural elements that may have influenced those texts. Harry Maier, in his article "Kleidung II (Bedeutung)" in the *RAC*, recognizes the ubiquitous nature of clothing symbolism by describing clothing as a "second skin" (zweite Haut). He comments, "Durch Farbe, Material und Anordnung der Kleidung wurde ein charakteristisches Ethos ausgedrückt, das seinerseits auf einer spezifischen Weltanschauung beruhte." Yet Maier's article is limited to a broad survey, and contains little sustained literary analysis.

This project, therefore, seeks to remedy this severe lack in NT scholarship by investigating the symbolic use of clothing in three literary productions of the early Roman imperial era - those of Virgil, Suetonius, and Josephus - and in the Gospel of Luke. The Gospel of Luke may be a particularly useful text since its thirty or so references to clothing provide a significantly high amount of data for investigation relative to many other NT texts. Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars* give significant points of reference for symbolic uses of clothing in literature stemming from a Roman cultural framework. Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* also provides this, but has the added advantage of crossing the Jewish-Roman cultural divide, however wide or narrow that may have been, and as such provides a helpful comparison with Luke's work, which also crosses cultural divides. Together these provide a triadic framework for comparison with literary symbolic usages of clothing in Luke's gospel, and together they envelope the timeframe in which Luke's gospel was written, and cover a spectrum of literary genre

incorporating historiography, biography, and literary epic in unique ways that potentially eliminates analytical errors that might arise from ignoring genre.

Prior to this analysis, however, the groundwork for undertaking an analysis of clothing symbolism in the historical literary context of the ancient world is given in Chapter 2. First, we give consideration to Paul Ricoeur's theory of symbol as it incorporates both the symbolic cultural world of the author, and especially the symbolic literary world of the text created by the author. Then we consider how Roland Barthes' contribution enables us to view clothing as functioning in a symbolic manner insofar as clothing arrangements function in a manner akin to language codes. Next, our survey of the monographs by Jung Hoon Kim and Rosemary Canavan demonstrate how symbolic meaning conveyed through clothing imagery is ubiquitous within Greco-Roman culture and Greco-Roman and Jewish literature, and demonstrates how this has had a clear influence on Pauline writings. Then we give terminological constraints to our investigation of "clothing" using the modern sociological categories developed by Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins and Joanne B. Eicher, and then proceed to investigate the material references of clothing terms and colors in the ancient world, as well as give some consideration to widespread connotations that these terms and colors could hold. Included in this is consideration of the similarities and differences between Jewish clothing in Judea and clothing within the Greco-Roman world at large. Lastly, we give brief consideration to the role of genre in our analysis of the literary use of clothing symbolism.

The symbolic use of clothing in the three works of Virgil, Suetonius, and Josephus is then analyzed in Chapter 3. Consideration is given to the historic context of each

author and their work, as well as their purposes for writing and the nature of the respective literary works. The analysis of clothing in each text is by no means comprehensive. Rather, texts are chosen for analysis that are deemed most significant with regard to the characterizations of the protagonists or antagonists of the narratives, and potentially most significant with regard to the plot or purpose of the narratives. Given that the concern of our analysis is specifically focused on how clothing portrays the values, virtues, and qualities of characters, texts that are concerned to portray a given character dressed with certain clothing are of greatest significance. In this way one is able to best judge how the clothing may be functioning symbolically within the literature itself. That is, we seek to understand what symbolic meaning the *author* wanted to convey by means of clothing imagery. While attention is primarily given to character, our analysis moves beyond this at times to consider what contribution clothing imagery may play at the level of the plot or function of the narrative itself.

With this is view, we turn in Chapter 4 to the literary world created by Luke in his gospel. After brief attention to Luke's historical person, context, and the nature of his gospel project, we focus on the symbolic use of clothing as portrayed within two main categories of characters. First, Jesus as the hero of Luke's story constitutes a category of its own, in which clothing portrayal functions in certain ways. Second, the focus is turned to clothing portrayal in other characters within the story, including the parabolic character of the Lost Son in Luke 15, and the metaphorical usage in Luke 24. While these analyses are primarily based on the narrative text of Luke, they necessarily extend beyond Luke's narrative to the vast narratives of the OT inasmuch as Luke's narrative signals those narratives and assumes intimate familiarity of those narratives by his audience. As in

Chapter 3, this analysis is by no means comprehensive, but instead focuses on those texts which are deemed most significant to the characters and plot of the story. Finally, in addition to these analyses, although the lack of clothing portrayal of John the Baptist in Luke's gospel need not be considered significant on its own, the contrast between Luke and the portrayal of John the Baptist's clothing in Matthew and Mark makes it an interesting case that potentially sheds further light on the nature of clothing portrayal in Luke where he chooses to describe it. A brief analysis of this facet of Luke's gospel concludes chapter 4. The analyses of Chapters 3 and 4 are then synthesized in the concluding Chapter 5.

Chapter 2

Approaching Clothing Symbolism in the World of the New Testament

The exploration of a symbol requires the exploration of the world in which the symbol operates. Symbols do not merely operate in a vacuum, but function within both the cultural world in which they are utilized, and within the more particular discourse worlds in the lives of individuals or individual communities. Such discourse worlds may be found in religious communities, in literature, and elsewhere.

As such, our purpose in this chapter is four-fold. First, we will seek to delineate, with some degree of precision, the nature of symbol in order to develop a framework for approaching any symbol. In close connection with this, we will briefly look at the general nature of clothing to possess the capacity to carry symbolic meaning. In doing so we will consider Roland Barthes' classic analysis of the fashion system. Second, we will investigate the current state of research in clothing symbolism in the world of the New Testament authors and the intersection of this symbolism with New Testament authors. This is exemplified in two monographs, and we give consideration to the bearing these studies have on our investigation. Third, we will both consider briefly the terminology "clothing" and explore the basic material culture of clothing in the Greco-Roman and Palestinian world, which forms the foundation of the symbolic world of clothing in the first century AD. Lastly, since the focus of this investigation is on the symbolic use of clothing within specific literary corpora, we will give brief consideration to the issue of genre and the bearing that such might have on our investigation.

2.1 Symbolism and Clothing

2.1.1 Symbol and Metaphor in Paul Ricoeur's *Interpretation Theory*

In approaching the nature of symbolism, we turn to Paul Ricoeur's essay in *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning*, a succinct, more recent accounting of his theory of symbolism as it relates to metaphor, and the bearing such has on hermeneutics. Ricoeur's theory of metaphor and symbolism, in addition to the work of I. A. Richards and Max Black and others on whom Ricoeur builds his theory, is considered useful by scholars of classical clothing and the use of its imagery, and a number of New Testament scholars have noted his importance for interpreting both New Testament narrative in general, and that of Luke's Gospel in particular.¹

In his essay "Metaphor and Symbol,"² Ricoeur investigates whether there is meaning in literary works that extends beyond mere verbal signification. It is a given that literary works possess a surplus of meaning by virtue of the metaphors that are utilized. But is this surplus simply noncognitive and emotional, or is there a genuine semantic element that goes beyond the linguistic sign? Ricoeur argues that symbols possess something that is both semantic and non-semantic, and approaches his exploration of the semantic nature of symbols by first setting up a theory of metaphor that contrasts with the classical theory and then using that theory to construct a theory of symbol that bridges the gap between metaphor and symbol.

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1. Giovanni Fanfani, Mary Harlow, and Marie-Louise Nosch, "Textiles and Clothing Imagery in Greek and Latin Literature: Structuring, Ordering and Disassembling," in *Spinning Fates and the Song of the Loom: The Use of Textiles, Clothing and Cloth Production as Metaphor, Symbol and Narrative Device in Greek and Latin Literature*, ed. Giovanni Fanfani, Mary Harlow, and Marie-Louise Nosch, Ancient Textiles Series 24 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016), 297–312, 325–330. Also see Anthony Thiselton, *Reading Luke: Interpretation, Reflection, Formation*, 20–22; as well as the contribution of Stephen Wright in the same volume.
 2. Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Texas: Christian University Press, 1976), 45–69.

Ricoeur's Theory of Metaphor

Metaphor, by Ricoeur's definition, holds together two types of meaning: literal and figurative. Metaphor operates within literature, where 'literature' is "that use of discourse where several things are specified at the same time and where the reader is not required to choose among them. It is the positive and productive use of ambiguity."³ In other words, in literature there are primary, or literal, significations and secondary, or figurative, significations in operation at the same time and interacting in such a way as to create meaning. If one can give a semantic accounting of both literal and figurative senses of a metaphor, then the same can be done for literature itself.

This is in contrast to the tradition of logical positivism, in which only that meaning that is explicit or denoted is cognitive and has semantic value. That which is implicit or connoted is considered "extra-semantic" since it merely consists of emotive evocations and therefore lacks cognitive value. Ricoeur's theory of metaphor works to counter this by constructing a framework that gives a semantic accounting of implicit or secondary significations. For this he turns to criticize the traditional rhetorical classification of metaphor as given by Aristotle.

For Aristotle, and later Cicero and Quintilian, "Metaphor belongs to the language game which governs naming."⁴ It is classified as a trope, used to classify variations in word meanings and therefore used for the process of denomination. It is concerned with the deviation of a word's meaning from its literal meaning - deviation that occurs in order to predicate resemblances; like a simile but stronger. This comparative function of metaphor does not have any actual semantic value, since it serves merely to "ground the

3. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 47.

4. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 47.

substitution of the figurative meaning of a word in place of the literal meaning."⁵

Therefore the purpose of a metaphor was generally perceived to involve the extension of the lexical code, or simply to provide rhetorical flourish.

Ricoeur, following on the work of I. A. Richards, discards the presupposition that metaphor is concerned with word signification. Rather, "metaphor has to do with semantics of the sentence before it concerns the semantics of a word."⁶ It is a phenomenon of predication, and only makes sense within an utterance. By Ricoeur's example, for the poet to speak of a "mantle of sorrow," two terms are placed in tension and it is only the ensemble that constitutes the metaphor. Thus an utterance may be metaphorical, but a word may not.

An important corollary follows: since the metaphor actually operates at the operation of predication, that of the sentence level, the tension that is created is not between two terms, but two interpretations of those terms. The metaphor is sustained by the conflict between these two interpretations. To use Ricoeur's example above, "sorrow is not a mantle, if the mantle is a garment made of cloth."⁷ A literal interpretation is first presupposed, and then it "self-destructs" due to the contradiction. This self-destruction of meaning, or "metaphorical twist," creates a gap of two incompatible ideas, which is spanned only by perceived resemblance. In Ricoeur's words, "What is at stake in a metaphorical utterance ... is the appearance of kinship where ordinary vision does not perceive any relationship."⁸ Two disparate things are brought together in such a way as to create new meaning by virtue of the created relationship. Because new signification

5. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 49.

6. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 49.

7. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 50.

8. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 51.

emerges at the sentential level, caused by the resolution of semantic dissonance, real metaphors are not translatable, though they may be paraphrased, and they have creative power in telling us something new about reality rather than simply giving new information.⁹

Ricoeur's Theory of Symbol

Ricoeur's tension theory of the relationship between literal and figurative meaning in a metaphorical utterance provides him with the framework for identifying the fundamental semantic traits of a symbol. First, as with the metaphorical twist, a symbol contains a "surplus of signification." Again Ricoeur's example: "The sea in ancient Babylonian myths signifies more than the expanse of water that can be seen from the shore."¹⁰ As in metaphor theory, the excess of signification present in a symbol can be in tension with the literal signification, but this only occurs when there are two interpretations at the same time, corresponding to the two levels of signification present in a symbol, "since it is the recognition of the literal meaning that allows us to see that a symbol still contains more meaning. This surplus of meaning is the residue of the literal interpretation."¹¹ Yet there exists not two interpretations, one literal and one symbolic, but rather one single movement, which transfers the reader "from one level to the other and which assimilates him to the second signification by means of, or through, the literal

9. On Ricoeur's theory of metaphor, see Kevin J. Vanhoozer, *Biblical Narrative in the Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur: A Study in Hermeneutics and Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 62-77; and John B. Thompson, *Critical Hermeneutics: A Study in the Thought of Paul Ricoeur and Jürgen Habermas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 50-51. Ricoeur's theory of metaphor has been widely accepted (Dan R. Stiver, *Theology after Ricoeur: New Directions in Hermeneutical Theology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 106); and has been found useful in scholarship on parable interpretation (Ivor H. Jones, *The Matthean Parables: A Literary and Historical Commentary*, NovTSup 80 [Leiden: Brill, 1995], 98-100; John Nolland, *Luke 1:1-9:20*, WBC 35A [Dallas: Word Books, 1989], xliii-xlviii), though not without some criticism (Craig L. Blomberg, *Interpreting the Parables*, 02 edition [Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2012], 158-164).

10. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 55.

11. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 55.

one." This movement is constituted such that the secondary meaning can only be attained via the primary meaning, which is the sole means of accessing the secondary meaning. The secondary meaning is thus effectively "the meaning of a meaning."

Second, as with metaphors, the work of resemblance is characteristic of symbols. There is an interplay of similarity and dissimilarity that creates a "conflict between some prior categorization of reality and a new one just being born."¹² Unlike a metaphor however, this relationship is not so logically ordered for a symbol, since the actual predication is lacking. Thus Ricoeur prefers to speak of symbols assimilating, rather than apprehending, a resemblance.¹³ In the process of assimilating some things to others, a symbol assimilates to us what is signified by it. The creation of symbolic meaning, or the transference of meaning to the reader's understanding, is a work or process.

But what is the nature of this work or process? In answering this, Ricoeur considers that there is a crucial difference between metaphor and symbol. Whereas metaphor exists purely within the linguistic realm ("universe of the *logos*"), symbol straddles the boundary between the linguistic and non-linguistic realms, and as such there is a "non-semantic moment" to a symbol. In other words, the complexity of human behavior and experience is integrated into the symbol itself, and there exists some logic of correspondence between the non-linguistic, or *pre-linguistic*, realm and that of the

12. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 56.

13. Likewise Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 17-30, describes how prior to the seventeenth century resemblance played a key role in organizing the play of symbols and their use in epistemology and interpretation, and there were four principle figures that determined the knowledge of resemblances. *Convenientia* is that which is in sufficient proximity to be juxtaposed to one another. *Aemulatio* refers to those things which reflect one another apart from spatial proximity. *Analogy* superimposes *convenientia* and *aemulatio* and thus is able to convey more subtle resemblances. And *sympathies* cross spatial boundaries to draw like things together in some over-arching way. All of these are held together by *signatures* that sufficiently mark the resemblances by virtue of a limitless "accumulation of confirmations all dependent on one another" (30).

logos. This means that symbol lacks autonomy in a variety of ways, and it is the task of the interpreter "to reveal the lines that attach the symbolic function to this or that non-symbolic or pre-linguistic activity."¹⁴

Ricoeur himself explores this in considering the use of symbol in poetic language, where *prima facie* it is language that is liberated from lexical, syntactical, and logical constraints. Yet the poet, in utilizing such language, still operates through language in a hypothetical realm. Poetic language may invert ordinary language, thereby freeing itself from ordinary language, but in doing so must be bound to the same degree it is freed and in so doing is able to allow new configurations of being in the world, of relating oneself to it, and interpreting it.¹⁵

The symbolism of the Sacred functions in a similar way for Ricoeur, in which one crosses "the threshold of an experience that does not allow itself to be completely inscribed within the categories of *logos* or proclamation and its transmission or interpretation."¹⁶ Within the sacred universe there is a correspondence between the natural world or experiences and the divine that is both transcendent and yet somehow immanent in life. Temples conform to celestial models and there can exist a correspondence between human and agricultural fecundity because "symbols only come to language to the extent that the elements of the world themselves become transparent."¹⁷ The Sacred is understood because it reveals itself symbolically in the world.

Thus, as Ricoeur demonstrates, in both poetic and sacred literature a symbol functions as such because there is a *shared world of understanding*, which relates in some

14. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 58.

15. On Ricoeur's view of poetry, see Vanhoozer, *Biblical Narrative*, 56-62.

16. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 60.

17. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 61.

way to the real world but which is constructed and into which one must enter; or there already exists a world of understanding that is simply co-inhabited and into which someone outside must enter or must shift his or her horizon to be able to view that world. By virtue of Ricoeur's "logic of correspondences," such a world necessarily belongs to some discourse of life, whether literary or simply lived-out in existence. As Ricoeur states, "We might even say that it is always by means of discourse that this logic manifests itself for if no myth narrated how things came to be or if there were no rituals which re-enacted this process, the Sacred would remain unmanifested."¹⁸ The work or process to be accomplished, then, is to connect the lines of meaning that exist by virtue of a constructed world that creates and governs the polysemic values of any given symbol, polysemic values that exist by virtue of the tasks or usages given to them within the world of the discourse in which they have been placed. Ricoeur himself states it well in this way:

To my mind, the contribution of ordinary language philosophy is twofold. First, it has proved that ordinary language does not, cannot, and must not function according to the model of ideal languages constructed by logicians and mathematicians. The variability of semantic values, their sensitivity to contexts, the irreducibly polysemic character of lexical terms in ordinary language, these are not provisory defects or diseases which a reformulation of language could eliminate, rather they are the permanent and fruitful conditions of the functioning of ordinary language. The polysemic feature of our words in ordinary language now appears to me to be the basic condition for symbolic discourse and in that way, the most primitive layer in a theory of metaphor, symbol, parable, etc.

Secondly, ordinary language now appears to me, following the work of Wittgenstein and Austin, to be a kind of conservatory for expressions which have preserved the highest descriptive power as regards human experience, particularly in the realms of actions and feelings. This appropriateness of some of the most refined distinctions attached to ordinary words provides all phenomenological analysis with linguistic guidelines. Now the recapturing of the intentions of ordinary language experiences may become the major task of a linguistic phenomenology, a phenomenology which would escape both the futility of mere linguistic distinctions and the unverifiability of all claim to direct intuition of lived experience.¹⁹

18. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 62.

19. Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor: Multi-Disciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Language* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 321-22.

Thus symbols only have the capacity to exist and be interpreted within narratives and meta-narratives, within worlds of understanding; whether by pre-existing cultures and realms of human functioning and interaction, or by literary creations.

The degree to which Ricoeur's general theory of interpretation is able to fully or even adequately account for the relationship between phenomenology and ontology as it relates to hermeneutics has received some critical discussion.²⁰ Along similar lines, some have also expressed, in varying degrees, concern over whether Ricoeur sets too large of a divide between "fictional narrative" and "historical narrative."²¹ Others, however, have given some correctives to many of these misgivings.²² Yet our investigation does not require that Ricoeur's theory *fully* account for the relationship between historical reality and phenomenology. It only requires that the theory is *able* to do so to a satisfactory degree, and criticism of Ricoeur's general theory does not necessitate shortcomings in his theory of metaphor and symbol used to build his general theory. Thus we will move forward in utilizing it for our inquiry into the historical use of symbolism.

Utilizing Ricoeur's Theory of Symbol

In considering the methodology of exploring the symbolic meaning of clothing in the narrative text(s) of Luke, two constraints on symbolic meaning suggest themselves as boundaries for exploration. First, there is the socio-cultural world in which the text came to exist and speak to its audience. This includes both the material culture of clothing with the contemporary Greco-Roman world and the socio-cultural context in which clothing itself would have the tendency to be viewed as relating in a symbolic fashion to human

20. E.g. Thompson, *Critical Hermeneutics*, 189-96.

21. E.g. Vanhoozer, *Biblical Narrative*, 104-8, 175-81, 281-5.

22. Thiselton engages Vanhoozer, Thompson, et al. in *New Horizons in Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 351-72; and *Hermeneutics: An Introduction*, 248-52.

traits or modes of existence being symbolized. Second, but related to the first, are the socio-cultural tendencies to utilize clothing as symbolic of human traits or modes of existence *within literature*. This tendency to utilize clothing as a symbolic literary device may itself have peculiarities or limitations as it relates to genre, topic, literary purposes, literary influences, and even general socio-cultural modes of thinking about clothing.

By utilizing Ricoeur's theory of symbol, we will first consider Luke's world constraints both as an author communicating to an audience with a shared world experience that comprises both a shared material culture, shared socio-cultural tendencies towards viewing clothing in symbolic ways, and a similar worldview. This will be explored at a general level later in this chapter, and more specifically at the literary level in the next chapter. Chapter 4 will then consider the constraints of the literary narrative world created by Luke in his gospel.

2.1.2 Roland Barthes and the Symbolism of Clothing

In shifting to consider the symbolic role of clothing in the Classical world, we will first give some consideration to the possible symbolic role of clothing as a general phenomenon. Much recent analysis of the symbolism of clothing in the Greco-Roman world takes its cues from Roland Barthes' analysis of clothing in modern-day (1958-59) fashion inspired by Sussure's science of *semiology*.²³ Barthes analysis entails the investigation of the nature of clothing presented in fashion magazines as it relates to the "written garment" - the pictured garment that is described on the page. It addresses the "translation" of the pictured garment into the written garment insofar as the pictured

23. N. K. Rollason, *Gifts of Clothing in Late Antique Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 5; Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith, "Introduction: From Costume History to Dress Studies," in *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, ed. Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 1-17, 2-3.

garment contains "vestimentary features already constituted (at least ideally) into a system of signification."²⁴ That is, "the function of the description of Fashion is not only to propose a model which is a copy of reality but also and especially to circulate Fashion broadly as *meaning*."²⁵

Barthes further explains the nature of the signification of meaning. To give one example, the magazine might tell us that "this long cardigan is discreet when unlined and amusing when reversible." As such there is the investment of meaning of character ("discreet", "amusing") in the portrayed clothing itself; and such possibilities of meaning may be indefinite, being connected to seasons, social functions, etc. Clothing and the real world, therefore, can enter into any kind of relation as regards the function or interaction, social or otherwise, between the wearer and the world.

His analysis continues in a structuralist fashion by exploring the various items of clothing and the syntactical relationships that may be formed by combination variants. Clothing items may be categorized as "names" or nominals, which, like language, are used for purposes of signification inasmuch as various *genera*, and species within each *genera*, may be brought into relationship. Different items of clothing may be more stable in meaning, or more available to be used for a variety of meanings. But in all its permutations there is an indeterminate degree to which clothing can explicitly signify the world (e.g. raw silk may correspond to summer, or thick wool sweaters may correspond to an autumn weekend in the country or spring on the Riviera). In addition to this, the

24. Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), x.

25. Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 10.

semantic meaning of clothing may be neutralized by another "vestimentary signifier" in which oppositions (e.g. morning/evening, casual/formal) may be cancelled or overridden.

Barthes' analysis of the correspondence between clothing and written or spoken language has not gone without criticism. Grant McCracken describes a case study to argue contra Barthes that, "when clothing was most like language, it was least successful as a means of communication."²⁶ He concludes from this that clothing has more differences than similarities to language. But to argue against Barthes, McCracken considers cases in which clothing sends conflicting or mixed messages. Thus the logic of McCracken's conclusion is tenuous, since his proofs are actually cases of clothing arrangements that were the equivalent of a grammatical breakdown in a sentence, which his grammatical system fails to recognize. Contrary to McCracken's analysis, Nathan Joseph, analyzes the semiotics of clothing that occurs at multiple levels of the worn clothing, and finds that therefore sometimes a single wearer can indeed carry different or even contradictory messages.²⁷ Thus the reason *why* confusion, and thus "grammatical breakdown," may occur in clothing is precisely *because* of its normal function of conveying meaning.

Thus what Barthes' analysis does is demonstrate how readily signification of meaning can be and is conveyed by clothing. In considering how his analysis as constrained by 1950's Fashion magazines may be applicable to the Ancient World, we consider that Barthes' analysis implicitly demonstrates that there is a certain potential of volatility in meaning created by the fashion industry in investing various elements of

26. Grant David McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 66.

27. Nathan Joseph, "Layers of Signs," in *Dress and Identity*, ed. Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins, Joanne B. Eicher, and Kim K. P. Johnson (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1995), 80–85.

clothing with meaning, but it is only able to accomplish this precisely because clothing itself has the capacity to signify. In this way, the modern fashion industry, in Ricoeur's terms, is constantly recreating the "fashion world" that constitutes the meaning of clothing. By contrast, the meaning of clothing in the Ancient World would have been much more directly related to the maintenance of social conventions as they related to social relationships, social functions, etc., and existed in a more stable manner without the additional lens of the modern fashion industry. Nevertheless Barthes' analysis confirms the judgment of Fanfani, Harlow, and Nosch on clothing in the ancient world:

An awareness of the craft and technology of weaving and spinning, of the production and consumption of clothing items, and of the social and religious significance of garments, is key to appreciating how textile and clothing imagery and metaphors work, their suitability to conceptualize human activities and represent cosmic realities, and their potential to evoke symbolic associations and arouse generic expectations.²⁸

2.2 Clothing Studies in the New Testament

We now turn to survey a couple of monographs on the imagery and symbolism of clothing within the world of the New Testament and the bearing such has on interpreting the NT. Kim's survey notes the extreme paucity of work done in this area, and indeed these are the only two monographs on the subject of which I'm aware, and both focus solely on Pauline writings. Through these monographs, however, we are able to get a flavor of the symbolic significance carried by clothing within the Jewish world and the Greco-Roman world contemporary with Luke.

28. Giovanni Fanfani, Mary Harlow, and Marie-Louise Nosch, "Textiles and Clothing Imagery in Greek and Latin Literature," 323-24.

2.2.1 Jung Hoon Kim, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus*

The purpose of Kim's work is to investigate the nature and significance of the clothing imagery within the Pauline corpus that he identifies as focusing "either on a decisive change in a believer's identity or in his or her mode of existence."²⁹ The specific Pauline passages of his investigation are Gal 3:27; Rom 13:14; 1 Cor 15:49, 50-54; 2 Cor 5:1-4; Col 3:9-10; and Eph 4:22-24. The means by which Kim examines these Pauline texts is by first conducting a relatively broad survey of various history-of-religions backgrounds, considering it likely that the imagery derives from many different sources. This examination begins by investigating OT clothing passages under the four categories of 1) Adam and Eve's garments of skin in Gen 3:21; 2) the ritual putting off and on of priestly garments in Exod, Lev, and Ezek; 3) the concept of God clothing himself with a person in Judg, and 1 and 2 Chron; and 4) the cosmological garment in Ps 102:26 where the concept of clothing is combined with the idea of change.

In chapters 2 and 3 he explores clothing imagery in non-canonical Jewish literature. Such imagery can be found in 1 and 2 Enoch where the transformation from an earthly to a heavenly mode of existence is expressed by a change-of-clothes metaphor. In Philo such language can be found in his explanation for humanity's nature in *Quaer. Gen. i.53* and *Leg. Al. ii*, among other places, which speak of the human body as a clothing of the soul, displaying either the virtues or the vices of the soul. A different symbolic sense is found in Philo's thoughts on the priestly garments in *Vita Mos. ii.131-135*, which not only display his priestly function as superior to the function of all kings, but also symbolize the whole universe with which the priest is identified in carrying out his

29. Jung Hoon Kim, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus*, JSNTSup 268 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 1.

duties. Similar clothing symbolism is found in Rabbinic literature on the interpretation of Gen 3.21. The nature of the symbolism is debated among Rabbinic texts, with some reading the verse as referring to the pre-lapsarian state of man clothed in the light of God's glory, and others reading the verse as referring to the post-lapsarian state of man clothed in animal skin.³⁰ Thus the discussion revolves around the glorious pre-fallen state of man versus the forfeiture of this glory in their post-fallen state.

Chapter 3 gives more focused attention to the imagery of clothing in *Joseph and Aseneth* (JA). The reason for this is the extended use of clothing as a literary convention of symbolizing Aseneth's identity transformations throughout the story. Aseneth's attire is first encountered in JA 3.6 as an extended description of idolatrous clothing in combination with the more general description of her identity as an idol-worshipper surrounding this text. By contrast Joseph's clothing is conveyed to the reader in 5.5 being both royal and priestly in appearance. As the worshipper of the God of Israel, "his apparel may be considered to symbolize the heavenly, royal, sacred radiance of his identity."³¹ In 8.9 Joseph prays for Aseneth's conversion and in 10.8-15 Aseneth's conversion is marked by the removal and destruction of her pagan attire and in the mourning of repentance she adorns herself with black funeral attire, sackcloth, and ashes. In what follows she effectively buries the extravagance, idolatry, and pride of her former existence by throwing away her old royal apparel. After the confession that follows, an angel from heaven appears to her in 14.1ff, having an appearance and attire similar to Joseph's, who gives her a new and pure linen robe. In addition to this, her new identity is marked by a

30. *Gen. Rab.* 20.12 take the former view, reading the עֹר in Gen 3:21 as אֹר, whereas *Pirque R. El.* 14.20 and *Tg. Yer.* Gen 3.21 maintain the reading of עֹר.

31. Kim, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery*, 63.

new name in 15.7, "City of Refuge," indicating that her actions take on representative significance for all such who repent. Finally, in what immediately follows, she is commanded by the angel to adorn herself in her wedding garment (15.10), and when the wedding day comes in chap 18, she is arraigned again in golden apparel and precious ornaments, yet this time with transfigured appearance. The symbolic meaning of her wedding garment is filled out in relation to fact that it is the royal and priestly figure of Joseph whom she is marrying and thus signifies her new identity in relationship to the God of Judaism.

In chapters 4-7, Kim finds similar symbolic usages of clothing imagery in the section of the *Acts of Thomas* referred to as *The Hymn of the Pearl* (also called *The Hymn of the Soul*), in ritual activities of the so-called 'mystery religions', in the Roman ritual of the *toga virilis*, and in the baptismal practices of the early church. *The Hymn of the Pearl* uses the divestiture and investiture of Egyptian and royal clothing as a symbol to tell the story of the forfeiture and recovery of the heavenly self and the image of God. In order to understand the symbolic significance of clothing within the mystery religions, Kim analyzes the literary use of clothing in the *Metamorphoses*, by Apuleius, and finds that linen garments were used to signify salvation and restoration of the human, being united to deistic beings (such as Isis), and the associated glory and restoration of life. In Roman life, the *toga virilis*, a symbol of manhood and Roman citizenship, was donned by Roman boys at the age of sixteen to symbolize entrance into manhood and emancipation from the rules and regulations of his father's house.³² Finally, there is significant evidence showing

32. For further investigations into the nature of the socio-cultural significance of the *toga virilis*, see Glenys Davies, "What Made the Roman Toga Virilis?," in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford; Oakville, CT: Oxbow Books, 2005), 121-30; and Fanny Dolansky, "Togam Virilem Sumere: Coming of Age in the Roman World," in

that in early Christian baptism proselytes would remove clothes prior to baptism, symbolizing the erasure of prior heathen life, and then they would be clothed with new baptismal robes after baptism, symbolizing the new, holy identity.

For Kim the influence of these various backgrounds manifest their influence on Paul's writings in similar but distinct ways.³³ He finds the early Christian baptismal rite, and the metaphorical connection between the baptismal garment and Jesus Christ, into whom believers were baptized, to be fundamentally operative in Gal 3:26-29 and Rom 13:11-14, though there were likely some connotations with the *toga virilis* ceremony. As such, for Paul there is the further significance of putting off the old Adamic humanity, and putting on the new in Christ. With this comes a close connection to how the believer's character should reflect that of Christ, just as the *appearance* of a garment pervades that of the wearer. Kim finds similar meaning of the clothing metaphors used in Col 3:9-10 and Eph 4:22-24, but with further links to the priestly garments in Exod and Lev, as well as a more explicit connection to rabbinic texts. In turning towards 1 Cor 15:49-54 and 2 Cor 5:1-4, he finds Adamic clothing again operative in Paul, who is there most likely sharing the Jewish idea of Adam's pre-Fall clothing of glory, and envisions a transformation back to a pre-Fall state at the parousia.

In evaluating the implications of Kim's analysis, whether he has accurately traced the direct influences on Paul's thinking is uncertain, although it is clear that Adamic clothing, for example, has significant bearing on Paul's thought. What is more clear is that Kim adequately demonstrates the pervasive if not ubiquitous presence of the

Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture, ed. Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 47–70.

33. Kim takes both Colossians and Ephesians to have been written by Paul.

symbolic use of clothing throughout the multiple socio-cultural spheres in which the New Testament authors wrote. The symbolic use of clothing has a rather ubiquitous presence within various literary corpora within Jewish culture, canonical and non-canonical. Kim also shows how the symbolic use of clothing is present within the larger Greco-Roman milieu. Clothing could be used to reflect either one's character, or one's function within society, or a complex interaction of both and it could do so with soteriological significance.

2.2.2 Rosemary Canavan, *Clothing the Body of Christ at Colossae*

More recently, Rosemary Canavan has investigated the symbolic imagery of clothing within the Greco-Roman world and its impact on understanding the clothing references in Paul's letter to the Colossians. Her investigation and approach is oriented around the visible material world in which the biblical text was written and in which the author and audience of the text existed. Utilizing the socio-rhetorical approach developed by Vernon Robbins, she primarily explores the "intertexture" of the text: how the visual imagery of clothing in the text interacts with the imagery of clothing the socio-cultural realities of social knowledge,³⁴ as well as other texts and cultural textual concepts and patterns. In order to accomplish this, the focus of her research is on the material culture of images. She writes, "In antiquity, where images rather than text dominate, art and iconography were active means of communication. These constructed representations

34. Per Vernon K. Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996), 62, this includes "social role, social identity, social institution, social code and social relationship." See Rosemary Canavan, *Clothing the Body of Christ at Colossae: A Visual Construction of Identity*, WUNT 2 334 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 64.

were capable of and instrumental in informing and forming the minds and lives of their viewing audience."³⁵

With this focus in mind, Canavan investigates the visual culture, that is "the array of visual images that confront people going about their lives,"³⁶ present in first century Greco-Roman Colossae in the form of clothing and the presentation of the body.³⁷ Throughout the Greco-Roman world "clothing imagery makes a vital connection between words and material reality, between text and image of clothing, and interacts with the representation of clothing and virtues apparent in the built environment of statuary, monuments, funerary *stelae* and coins."³⁸ Clothing as portrayed by these forms of visualization should not be assumed to accurately portray what people commonly wore. Rather, they are usually representative and idealized portrayals that were a mechanism of conveying the virtues and values of the social group, such as "honouring local benefactors or presenting the emperor or his wife as the epitome of Roman identity."³⁹ Thus Canavan analyzes clothing in the Greco-Roman world as a symbol along similar lines with Ricoeur's theory: there was a socially-constructed world in which clothing images operated, which drew the interpretation of those images by the audience away from the simple referent of the clothing images to the commonly invisible referent of the virtues, behaviors, and values that were of central importance to that social world.

35. Canavan, *Clothing the Body of Christ at Colossae*, 34.

36. Canavan, *Clothing the Body of Christ at Colossae*, 55.

37. She acknowledges that this approach is necessarily somewhat indirect. Since neighboring Laodikia and Hieropolis were under excavation, and the excavations at Colossae had not yet started at the time of writing, much of the material data for her investigation comes from Ephesus, Aphrodisias, and Smyrna, "which displayed trade and political connections with the Lycus Valley and held significant relationships with Rome." (p. 113).

38. Canavan, *Clothing the Body of Christ at Colossae*, 33.

39. Canavan, *Clothing the Body of Christ at Colossae*, 55.

Canavan's investigation begins with statuary evidence, and the construction of identity that is exuded from those clothing images. Statues were commonplace within urban areas, and often displayed the Roman emperors clothed in such a way that modeled the virtues of Rome that were to mark the identity of its citizens. Her investigation of statuary evidence thus begins with Roman emperors, then shifts to portrayals of emperors' wives, followed by the *toga virilis* ceremony of young Roman men and the portrayal of civic honors.

A prime example of clothing portrayed by imperial figures is that of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. The architecture of this temple displays numerous reliefs of life-size statues among which "emperors from Augustus to Nero were portrayed as Olympian gods trouncing nations that appear as cowering and distraught barbarian naked women."⁴⁰ The emperor could be portrayed in a toga (*capite velato* or not) or in a cuirassed style. But in these depictions there is a contrast between the heroic nudity of the emperor in victory over a cowering female figure who has been stripped of clothing.⁴¹ This juxtaposition is made more stark by the image of a female personification of Rome standing by the emperor with a "tightly controlled coiffure" and a well-clothed persona that exemplifies the virtues of the Roman people. The presence of the naked muscled emperor over the naked cowering and shamed personification of the subdued nation portrays a power relationship of the supremacy of Roman regime. The story told by the reliefs continues through the depiction of subdued nations as female figures re-clothed in

40. Canavan, *Clothing the Body of Christ at Colossae*, 82.

41. The nudity of the emperor likely symbolized a divine-like nature to his being: see Michael Koortbojian, "The Double Identity of Roman Portrait Statues: Costumes and Their Symbolism at Rome," in *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, ed. Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 71–93, 84.

Roman garb and standing in classic Roman posture. As Canavan states, "This series of images constructs a graphic narrative through clothing that sees a conquered nation stripped of its barbarian clothing, shamed in nakedness, reclothed as captive and finally able to be fully clothed, civilised and free."⁴² The story is furthered through the depiction of the emperor wearing the *corona civica* (citizen crown) and hailing the people as their savior.

Depictions of Roman emperors' wives are also of symbolic import. Agrippina, wife of Claudius, is also portrayed at Aphrodisias. The portrayal of her *himation* in close wrapping is similar to the common portrayals of female figures such as the Large Herculaneum Woman that illustrate the qualities of modesty, self-containment, and personal discipline. Moreover, she holds an ear of wheat in her hand, suggesting emulation of Demeter the goddess of fertility and the sanctity of marriage.

Canavan continues her survey by noting the presence of a statue of a young man at Aphrodisias who is donning the *toga virilis*, the article of clothing bestowed upon young Roman boys in the celebration of the coming-of-age. The *toga virilis* is thereby displaying his manhood and his *dignitas*, and as such it exhibits a continuity with portrayals of the emperor. Canavan evidences that similar statuary displays are to be found among the numerous statues displaying local civic leaders, erected in the context of the complex system of benefaction and honor that tied the *polis* to the emperor. As such these statues communicate the values of the community and the system of benefactors intertwined with those values in which virtue and officeholding are interdependent. Canavan continues by demonstrating that images commonly portrayed in stelae, funerary

42. Canavan, *Clothing the Body of Christ at Colossae*, 83.

monuments, and coins, depict that "the Romans in the act of clothing put on the virtues of Rome."⁴³

This symbolic display of meaning through clothing is demonstrated to be no less present in Paul's letter to the Colossians. Canavan's examination of the verbal structure of chapter 3, and the constant repetition of Χρίστος, lends itself to the following structure: 1) vv. 1-7: your life is in Christ, 2) vv. 8-14: clothe yourselves as the body of Christ, and 3) vv. 15-17: be as Christ.⁴⁴ When this lexical data is placed alongside verbal clothing imagery found in vv. 8-14:

The language builds an image of the body as constituted with its members clothed in a manner where they are cohered in Christ and with each other. The death and resurrection of Christ forms the basis of the ritual exit from the identity that they have known. They enter the community that is the body of Christ where previous identities hold no power, only Christ who is all in all.⁴⁵

In other words, clothing imagery in Colossians is used to symbolize the behavioral appearance of the community in terms of Christ-like virtues such as humility, compassion, and ultimately love. This behavior is constituted by a new identity that is found in Christ by identifying with his death and resurrection, which itself constitutes his capture and destruction of all earthly powers, and restores God's image to humanity (Col 1:17). For Canavan, this imagery links directly with Gen 3, in which clothing signifies the transfer of Adam and Eve from the realm of paradise into the earthly, fallen realm. The clothing language in Colossians is therefore in direct antithesis with the Genesis story, and parallel with that of priestly clothing (Lev 6:11, 16:4; Ezek 42:14, 44:19), which identifies the wearer as holy to the Lord (cf. Col 3:12).

43. Canavan, *Clothing the Body of Christ at Colossae*, 113.

44. Canavan, *Clothing the Body of Christ at Colossae*, 140-143.

45. Canavan, *Clothing the Body of Christ at Colossae*, 145. The clothing verbs used in Col 3:8-14 are ἀποτίθημι, ἀπεκδύομαι, and ἐνδύομαι.

Although for Canavan there are a number of other possible intertextual connections, she adduces that the imagery of clothing is used in a manner similar to Roman usage, but does so in a way that either inverts the socially valued virtues, or brings them to proper fruition in Christ as the true image of God. Implicitly then, the symbolism of clothing as used by the author of Colossians subverts the power structure of the imagery presented by deified emperors and glorified deities, and does so in connection to a better overarching narrative of God's display of power and love.

The value of Canavan's research for our project is primarily seen in considering the socio-cultural world of the Roman Empire in which the New Testament authors wrote. Canavan demonstrates the ubiquity within that world of the use of clothing imagery to symbolize virtues and values that were prized in the Roman world, and she shows how this symbolic use naturally passed into literary correspondence about ethical behavior in a typical Christian community within the Roman world. This comports directly with Kim's broad survey of clothing imagery in Jewish and Greco-Roman literature to demonstrate that symbolic usages of clothing was a common phenomenon both in the general world and in the literary conventions of the first century.

2.3 Clothing: Terminology and Denotations

2.3.1 Issues of Terminology: Dress vs. Clothing

What exactly is the object of our investigation? Terms like 'dress', 'clothing', and 'adornment' are often used without precision. A helpful delineation of these terms is provided by Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins and Joanne B. Eicher. Since a number of terms

relate to more modern phenomena of clothing and dress, not all of the terms defined by Roach-Higgins and Eicher will be considered here, but only those useful for our analysis.

The term *dress*, as defined by Roach-Higgins and Eicher, is "an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body." As such it is the broad or general term and thus includes a number of possible modifications of the body such as "coiffed hair, colored skin, pierced ears, and scented breath," as well as a long list of supplements such as "garments, jewelry, accessories," etc.⁴⁶ For Roach-Higgins and Eicher, the term 'dress' compares to the terms *adornment* and *ornament* in that the latter fail to adequately explain "what the form of body modifications or supplements is and is not, because they impose restrictive value judgments regarding aesthetic quality which the term dress does not." Thus whatever may be classified under the term 'dress' can only be classified as 'adornment' or 'ornament' if it is assigned "some degree of positive value on the basis of [one's] interpretation of socially acquired cultural rules or standards for what can be considered beautiful or attractive."⁴⁷

Finally, and most significant for our investigation, the term 'dress' compares to the term *clothing* in that the latter "is most frequently used to emphasize enclosures that cover the body and generally omits body modifications."⁴⁸ Roach-Higgins and Eicher also consider that 'clothing' likens to 'adornment' in that personal or social values are almost inevitably introduced in regards to standards of modesty or the like. We find that the term 'clothing' in this sense is helpful in referring to the object of our investigation.

46. Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins and Joanne B. Eicher, "Dress and Identity," in *Dress and Identity*, ed. Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins, Joanne B. Eicher, and Kim K. P. Johnson (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1995), 7-18, 7.

47. Roach-Higgins and Eicher, "Dress and Identity," 9-10.

48. Roach-Higgins and Eicher, "Dress and Identity," 10.

We will not be considering body modifications of any sort, and issues of personal or social values need not restrict us from using the term "clothing." In fact, the symbolism that is inherent in personal and social values is of significant concern, and so 'clothing' as it pertains to bodily enclosures or coverings, and potentially including footwear, is most appropriate. Our investigation may lead us to briefly consider objects outside the realm of "clothing," such as jewelry, but the distinction will be minor, since these cases will not be isolated from clothing imagery.

2.3.2 Clothing Items in the First Century

Before we undertake the literary investigations of Virgil, Suetonius, and Josephus (Chapter 3), and Luke (Chapter 4), we will discuss the basic wardrobe of the Greco-Roman world in general, and more briefly that of Jews in Palestine and the diaspora communities in particular. We will first consider basic Greco-Roman outer garments, then their under garments and footwear, and then briefly compare these to common Jewish Palestinian clothing. We will also briefly explore two important colors, white and purple, clothing verbs found in Luke's gospel, as well as the unclothed state of "nakedness." These observations will be limited to the general situation of 1st century BC to 2nd century AD and will not consider diachronic developments. This is not an exhaustive survey, but rather a general overview of common or significant wardrobe items, focusing particularly on men's garments, since those are most frequently encountered in the literature to be explored. More detail will be given for specific items later as needed.

Greco-Roman Clothing

Probably the most well-known and prominent Greco-Roman article of clothing is the Roman *toga*. It was considered the national costume of the Romans and was the

symbol of Roman citizenship, even though it was originally a simple, practical outer garment. In the Imperial Roman era it was rarely worn, and its use became increasingly bound to ceremonial function. Starting around the early 1st century AD, the toga developed



Image 1

into a large size as a rectangular piece of cloth around 18 feet in length, wrapped around the body and draped over the shoulder (see Image 1).⁴⁹ Since cloth was generally laborious to produce, clothing of any sort was relatively expensive; but the toga would have been expensive enough to be a symbol of status and wealth.⁵⁰ It was usually made of white wool, and was often a pure, undecorated white. Boys, high priests, and officials wore the *toga praetexta*, which had a purple edging or border. Some emperors and high officials wore decorated or purple togas.

The most commonly worn outer garment was the *himation* (ἱμάτιον; Latin: *pallium* for men, *palla* for women). It was similar to the *toga* in some respects, since it

49. Alexandra Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000), 44-48. Image 1 source: Mary G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman & Byzantine Costume* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2003), 88. Figures, from left to right, are "The Orator," a statue of emperor Titus, and a fourth century Roman magistrate.

50. Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), s.v. "Value, of Textiles," 205. notes that "although epigraphic record provides some hints as to the absolute monetary value of garments and textiles, these are sparse, and do not allow detailed conclusions for many particular periods. Martial (2.44.1-4) implies that a new toga costs the same as a slave - or three to four pounds of silver plate."

was made of long cloth, often wrapped around the body and hung over one arm, and usually worn over a *tunica* or *chiton* (see below); but it was distinct in that it always had straight edges, and it could be properly worn in a variety of ways (see Image 2 for Greek *himation* styles, and Image 3 for the typical Roman *pallium* style).⁵¹ They often had stripes or bands of different widths and colors woven into the cloth, which was commonly called the *kraspedon* (κρασπέδον).⁵² Like all clothing, price



Image 2



Pallium

Image 3

varied considerably with the degree of quality and the nature of ornamentation, but a typical 3rd quality *himation* or *pallium* would have cost at least 10 to 20 days' wages for the average worker, but one of fine quality from Tarsus or Scythopolis could cost at least 15 times that amount.⁵³

The Greek *stole* (στολή) was originally a general term for clothing, but came to refer to long outer garments or robes of many kinds. As such, the term often refers to clothing that drapes down to the ankles or

51. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, 55. Image 2 source: Mary G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman & Byzantine Costume* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2003), 68. Image 3 source: Rolf Hurschmann, "Clothing," BNP 3:471-481.

52. Douglas R. Edwards, "Dress and Ornamentation," *ABD* 2:236.

53. Sources for absolute values of clothing are sparse, and therefore the price edict of Diocletian in AD 301 is the best source for clothing costs in the Roman world (Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, s.v. "Value, of Textiles," 205). Though the date is later than that of our interest, relative costs can be calculated from the clothing prices and the wage limits given in the edict. The maximum cost of a third quality linen tunic or mantle is set at 500 *denarii*, while a first quality mantle from Scythopolis could cost up to 7,500 *denarii*. By comparison, the daily wage of a carpenter or farm worker was 50 and 25 *denarii*, respectively.

feet, such as garments often used in cultic functions, and is used over 40 times in the LXX to refer to priestly vestments.⁵⁴ It generally held connotations of honor and wealth.

The foundational piece of clothing during this era was the *chiton* (χιτών), or *tunica*. The overall length and length of sleeve could vary considerably with this garment, though the male tunic usually reached to the knees and the female usually reached to the ankles. It was sometimes made without seams, but most often it was made of two pieces of woven fabric, with seams along the shoulders and down the

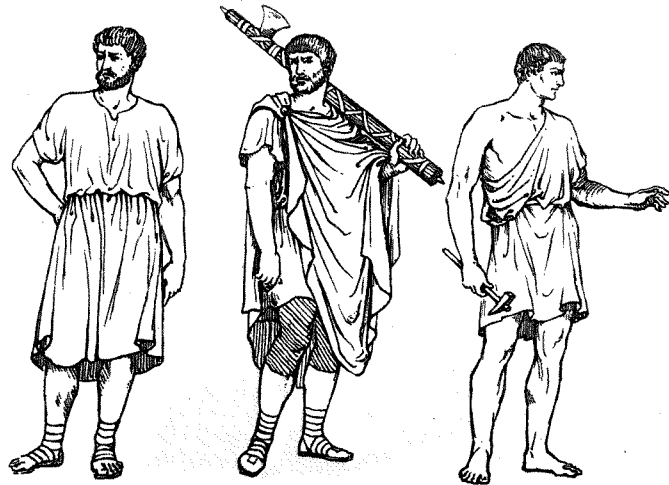
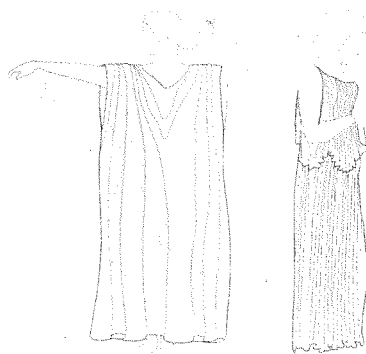


Image 4

sides (see Images 4 and 5). It was principally the undergarment to be worn under the garment types described above, but its versatility meant that it could also be worn as an



Chiton

Image 5

outer garment over another, usually shorter *chiton*. It would not be uncommon for wealthier people to wear an undertunic, with one or more tunics over it, and a *toga*, *himation/pallium*, or *stole* over these, varying on standards of propriety and the seasons. During the first and second centuries AD, it was most common to wear this garment with a belt, unless one was poor. Fabric

colors varied widely but white was most common, and stripes of various colors and

54. Ulrich Wilckens, "στολή," *TDNT* 7:687-91.

widths were often woven into the fabric, often varying according to class distinctions.⁵⁵

Like the *himation*, the cost of a *chiton* varied greatly according to quality, dye color, and decoration, and the data from Diocletian's Edict suggests it cost about the same as a *himation*.

Typical Greek footwear consisted of the *hupodema* (ὐπόδημα), or sandal, openly constructed and usually made of leather straps (ἱμάς) bound to a sole. Types of *hupodema* vary from the simple thong to a complex arrangement of straps with laces and were worn in everyday activities. Roman footwear was more particular and complex, and they

developed various footwear for various occasions, with propriety of footwear dependent on the clothing worn and the occasion. *Sandalia* or *soleae*, the Roman equivalent of the *hupodemata*, were only appropriate

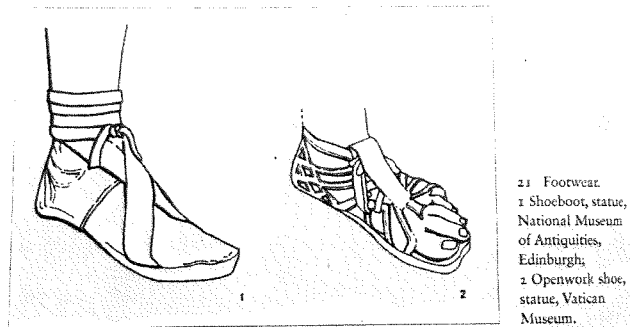


Image 6

for indoor use with the tunic (or stola for the women). Roman *calcei*, or shoeboots, were appropriate for outdoor wear with toga or palla (see Image 6). There was some fluidity, however, given personal senses of propriety.⁵⁶ Lack of footwear was common among the poor, slaves, and rural people, though there could be any number of practical reasons for

55. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, 30-43. Image 4 source: Mary G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman & Byzantine Costume*, 97; Image 5 source: Hurschmann, "Clothing," 3:471-481.

56. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, 68-74; Norma Goldman, "Roman Footwear," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 101-129, 104 and 116. Ethel Abrahams and Lady Evans, *Ancient Greek Dress*, ed. Marie Johnson (Chicago: Argonaut, 1964), 116-119. Image 6 source: Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, 70.

walking barefoot without stigma.⁵⁷ Prices listed in the Edict of Diocletian suggest that Roman footwear cost around 2 to 5 days' wages for the typical laborer.⁵⁸

Palestinian Clothing

There is considerable evidence that Jews were specialists in weaving and dyeing in the ancient world, as many of the towns in Palestine had numerous weaving and dyeing shops, and were known for their fine quality of woven cloth. Both Mishnaic and Talmudic texts give evidence that Palestinian costume was very similar to the Greek costume of the Roman empire, consisting of a tunic with a mantle like the Greek *himation* or Roman *pallium*, but could also include cloaks, undertunics, and any number of other articles of clothing common to the Greco-Roman world.⁵⁹ Examination of the evidence found in the Cave of Letters shows that Palestinian tunics were woven from two pieces of cloth, conforming to Mishnah Negaim 11:9 law providing conformance to purity laws by merely replacing the ritually defiled half of the tunic. These tunics were also found to be woven with the narrow colored stripes called *clavi* typical of Roman *tunica*. Evidence at Qumran suggests that the Essenes wore both mantles and *tunica* of white linen, un-dyed since linen does not take dye nearly as well as wool, extending the priestly clothing purity code to all members of the sect.⁶⁰

57. Goldman, "Roman Footwear," 105.

58. Goldman, "Roman Footwear," 127, n. 5.

59. Lucille A. Roussin, "Costume in Roman Palestine: Archaeological Remains and the Evidence from the Mishnah," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 182–90, 182–184; Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, 157.

60. Jodi Magness, *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit: Jewish Daily Life in the Time of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 110–11.

Mantles similar to those found throughout the Roman Empire were also discovered in the Cave of Letters.⁶¹ Pious Jews, however, were very likely to wear mantles with tassels, or fringes, woven into each of the four corners. Though *kraspedon* commonly referred to the edge or hem of the mantle, its occurrences in the NT are usually linked to the tassels (*zizit*) of Num 15:38-39 and Deut 22:12 commanded for the remembrance of Torah.⁶² Toga-wearing was expressly forbidden by Sifre Deut. 81.

Colors

Brief consideration will be given here to two significant colors within the ancient world: white and purple. As up until recent history, the color white (λεύκος) was a term of relative color. Most clothing in the Greco-Roman world was made from wool, which comes in an array of natural shades, or linen. Both could be left undyed or bleached white, and dyed cloth was usually wool, since it takes dyes colors quite well. The normal range of white is covered by the word *albus* in Latin, but a brilliant white could be achieved through methods of bleaching, sulphur, and rootlet juice.⁶³ If purity wanted to be stressed by, say, a politician, he would wear a *candidus*, referring to a dazzling snow-white toga; or such could be worn to simply impress. The bride would also wear the white *tunica recta* on the night before her wedding, signifying purity.⁶⁴

61. Yigael Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1963), 204-239.

62. See Jodi Magness, *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit*, 111-20. The NT texts are Matt 9:20, 14:36, 23:5; Mark 6:56; Luke 8:44.

63. Judith Lynn Sebesta, "Tunica Ralla, Tunica Spissa: The Colors and Textiles of Roman Costume," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 65-76, 68; Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, 27.

64. Judith Lynn Sebesta, "Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 46-53, 48.

The purple dye color (πορφύρα; *purpura*) occurred in various hues given its many sources. Vitruvius (7.13.1) notes four basic hues: dark, pale, blue, and red (*ater, lividus, violaceus, ruber*), and Diocletian's edict refers to at least six different purples of varying qualities. Various purples differed in hue, quality, and richness, as well as popularity in fashion, providing that purple color of some sort could be found being worn by almost anybody; although Tyrian purple, usually made from shellfish, was the most well known, very expensive, and prestigious.⁶⁵ Yet from early on it came to represent wealth and status, and later became symbolic of the emperor himself such that Nero banned the wearing of a certain purple by anyone other than himself.⁶⁶ In Roman culture the color purple could also be associated with blood and was used to protect those viewed as particularly helpless against evil forces. Thus the color was found on the *toga praetexta* worn by children, on the clothing of Roman priestesses, and probably on bridal veils.⁶⁷

Nakedness

Consideration of clothing must also account for the state of being unclothed (γύμνος, *nudus*). Being "naked" usually refers to being completely unclothed, but not necessarily so, and could refer to simply being under-clothed, improperly dressed for the occasion, or "defenseless."⁶⁸ As noted in our survey of Canavan's work above, nakedness

65. Sebesta, "Tunica Ralla, Tunica Spissa," 69; Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, 25-26; Mark Bradley, *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and Isabella Benda-Weber, "Textile Production Centres, Products and Merchants in the Roman Province of Asia," in *Making Textiles in Pre-Roman and Roman Times: People, Places, Identities*, ed. Margarita Gleba and Judit Pásztokei-Szeőke, Ancient Textiles Series 13 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 171-91.

66. Suetonius, *Nero*, 32.

67. Sebesta, "Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman," 47; Laetitia La Follette, "The Costume of the Roman Bride," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 54-64, 56-57; Bradley, 190-91.

68. See Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, s.v. *gymnos* and *nudus*.

in the Roman world could vary widely in meaning. For example, someone, such as the emperor, could be portrayed naked as a divine-like or hero-like being returning from war in victory and glory; others could be portrayed naked as a mark of defeat, submission, and shame. In Palestine as elsewhere, nudity was not uncommon and was the norm in some contexts such as bath houses. Nevertheless nudity is often associated with shame and dehumanization in contexts where the person is forcibly stripped of clothing by others. Thus the significance of nakedness was highly dependent on the context in which it was displayed.⁶⁹ Yet where the biblical framework of Gen 2:25 and 3:7 informed the cultural view of nakedness, there was a close connection with shame.⁷⁰

Clothing Verbs

There are a number of verbs used by Luke to convey acts of clothing. The verb ἐνδύω can take the general sense of entering or pressing into something, and therefore often refers to the general act of putting on clothing.⁷¹ Likewise, its cognate, ἐνδιδύσκω, carries the same meaning but is strictly limited to clothing.⁷² In this vein, ἱματίζω also refers to the general act of putting on clothing,⁷³ despite the obvious cognate relationship to ἱμάτιον. The verb ἐκδύω signifies the opposite act of taking off clothing, but can also carry a negative sense of referring to stripping someone of clothes, or more generally to plundering or removing by force.⁷⁴ Luke also uses two verbs, ἀμφιέννυμι and περιβάλλω, whose prepositional prefixes imply "enclosure."⁷⁵ The latter verb also has more general

69. See Jodi Magness, *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit*, 107-109, and the different examples given therein.

70. See Valerio Neri, "Nacktheit I," *RAC*, 1:602-29, 609-17.

71. *LSJ* s.v. ἐνδύω or ἐνδύνω; Abrahams and Evans, *Ancient Greek Dress*, 18.

72. *LSJ*, *BDAG* s.v. ἐνδιδύσκω.

73. *L&N* 49.1; *LSJ* s.v. ἱματίζω.

74. *BDAG*, *LSJ* s.v. ἐκδύω; Albrecht Oepke, "δύω, ἐκδύω, κτλ," *TDNT* 2:318-320,

75. *L&N* 49.3.

usages related to encompassing or surrounding.⁷⁶ Finally, Luke uses the verb περιζώννυμι. The root verb ζώννυμι is the cognate verb of ζώνη, which refers to a belt or girdle. Thus περιζώννυμι refers primarily to the act of girding oneself, though it can extend to refer to the entire action of clothing oneself, which concludes with the fastening of the belt.⁷⁷ Ubiquitous in the ancient world is the connotation of preparing oneself for activity in girding oneself, and preparing for rest in ungirding oneself.⁷⁸

2.4 Approaching Symbolism in Literary Genre

In approaching the topic of clothing within the Luke's gospel, consideration must be given to genre inasmuch as the type or nature of symbolic usage of clothing could potentially vary. As noted above, Ricoeur's analysis of symbol alerts us to the fact that we must be sensitive to possible literary constraints within the socio-cultural world in which Luke was writing for his audience. Even though the studies examined above suggest that the symbolic imagery of clothing was ubiquitous in Greco-Roman culture, this does not necessarily mean that it was everywhere present in the same way, literarily speaking. In considering this issue, we here give brief attention to the genre of Luke's writings and the bearing it may have.

While numerous scholars have understood the gospels to be biographical in nature, Richard Burridge has pressed the nature of their genre in comparison with Greco-Roman biographies, or more precisely, βίοι. He analyzes a number of features that potentially mark or signal a particular genre to the readers.⁷⁹ First, a comparison of

76. *LSJ* s.v. περιβάλλω.

77. L&N 49.8, 49.14, and 49.15.

78. Albrecht Oepke, "ζώννυμι, κτλ," *TDNT* 5:302-308.

79. See Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?: A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*,

opening features present in various Greco-Roman βίαι show general similarity with the Synoptic gospels, and Luke's preface (1:1-4) shows particular affinity with works of Lucian, Philo, Tacitus, et al. Second, in Burridge's analysis the primary *subject* of the Synoptics is demonstrated to be the person of Jesus, and therefore they align closely with the pervasive feature in Greco-Roman βίαι that the subject is personal. Third, various *external features* comport closely within those found in βίαι. Such features include having a prose narrative mode of representation; having a general framework of a chronological sequence with the insertion of topical material; containing various literary units of stories, anecdotes, sayings and speeches; and displaying the character of the primary subject in terms of words and deeds. Lastly, various *external features*, such as the various *topoi* utilized and the nature of the style of the Synoptic Gospel also comport to what can be classified as βίαι. The test cases Burridge uses for his analysis extend back to Isocrates' *Evagoras* and Xenophon's *Agesilaus*, and include Philo's *Moses*, Tacitus' *Agricola*, Plutarch's *Cato Minor*, Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, and Philostratus' *Apollonius of Tyanan*. The subjects of these texts are usually persons who are kings, philosophers, or even both.

Yet Burridge also argues that in approaching genre and considering generic classifications one must be alert to the reality that genre is fluid. Biography itself "was never strongly delineated as a genre by the ancients." Burridge continues by noting Plutarch's struggle with generic boundaries in *Alexander* 1.1-3: "History, says Plutarch, is concerned for the famous actions and illustrious deeds of men and for great events like sieges or battles; a βίος is interested in men's character, which may be revealed by 'little

SNTSMS 70 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 192-219.

things' like the odd phrase or jest."⁸⁰ Yet as Burridge notes, the context clearly indicates that this is no hard and fast rule, and it is important to observe Plutarch's still-flexible movement between writing "history" and "biography." Thus any particular genre may be "mixed" with one or more *genera proxima* such that the boundary lines between biography, history, story, etc. can be quite fluid in accordance with any given author's purposes and style, among other factors.

At the same time, some have pressed whether the terms βίαι or even "historical" are *sufficient* categories for capturing the phenomenon of gospel literature. Collins identifies different types of biography, based on category by function, such as encomiastic, scholarly, didactic, ethical, entertaining, and historical. He furthermore insists that one must not ignore the apocalyptic and eschatological tradition in which the gospels stand, and considers the possibility that the gospels may reflect biographical models set in Jewish literature, such as that of Moses, or those found in 1 Sam-2 Kings.⁸¹ Pennington adds consideration of the ethical nature of gospel literature, and their kerygmatic function, and especially the unique nature of Jesus as their subject.⁸²

Yet these sorts of considerations start tending towards simply recognizing the need for sensitivity towards the literary world that Luke and the other gospel writers construct and the specific purposes for which these texts were written. Thus symbol usages may stand within historical literary conventions, or they may stretch beyond these literary conventions due to specific authorial intentions. Still, Luke's gospel itself stands

80. Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 61 and 63 respectively.

81. Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary*, ed. Harold W. Attridge, Herm (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 29-33; cf. Loveday Alexander, "What Is a Gospel?," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Gospels*, ed. Stephen C. Barton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 13-33, 26.

82. Jonathan T. Pennington, *Reading the Gospels Wisely: A Narrative and Theological Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2012), 27; cf. John Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 19.

broadly within historical and biographical purposes, and for that reason we will explore three literary works within the Greco-Roman historical-biographical genre for comparison with the gospel of Luke. Virgil's *Aeneid* may be broadly categorized as national epic, but nevertheless falls under historical genre, while being a kind of biography of Rome's founder.⁸³ Suetonius' *Vitae* falls specifically under biography, and Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicum* is primarily historical, while having significant biographical elements in direct lineage with those of the Old Testament canonical history; and, for purposes of comparison, Josephus carries the added benefit of crossing the boundaries between the Jewish and Greco-Roman divide.

83. Joseph Farrell, "Virgil," *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece & Rome* 7:181-193, 187.

Chapter 3

Clothing Symbolism in Greco-Roman and Jewish Writings

In this chapter we will investigate the symbolic use of clothing in three literary texts. Virgil's *Aeneid* is a late 1st-century BC epic that had a profound impact on the Roman world and played a significant role in forming a framework for Roman identity as it related to the family and history of the emperor. Though not a historical text strictly speaking, it provided an epic type of history used by emperors to provide a historical orientation for the Roman people. The *De Vita Caesarum* by Suetonius was written in early 2nd-century AD as a historical biographical type of text evaluating the history of the emperors up to that point in order to provide a retrospective model by which the emperor, as the "first citizen," should live. Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae*, written towards the end of the 1st-century AD, provides a convenient third reference point. Not only is it wedged between the time periods of the other two texts, it is a history on an epic scale that contains biographical-type texts of significant Jewish historical figures who are models of Jewish moral virtues and character. Furthermore, Josephus forms a rather unique bridge between the Jewish and Roman worlds, inasmuch as they may be distinguished,⁸⁴ and he provides a helpful case for seeing how someone of a Jewish subculture might interact with the Roman culture at large and appropriate cultural symbolism accordingly.

84. That one cannot neatly separate out the 1st-century AD Jewish cultural world from that of the Greco-Roman cultural world has been well established in biblical scholarship, and is not being denied here. What is being maintained here is that there still existed *some* cultural distinctions between the two, generally speaking, as was commonly recognized in the Roman world. Here in particular is the concern that a given Jewish subculture *may* not be operating within the same cultural framework that would see clothing symbolism in the same way as that of Roman culture.

For each of the texts we will first explore instances of clothing symbolism as it relates to the characters with whom the clothing is associated. In other words, how is the character being portrayed through the clothing? Such an investigation must take account of both the individual characterizations as signaled in the text, and also the larger narrative framework, or symbolic world, that the author has set up and in which the author expects the audience to be operating. Second, the investigation will give attention to the instances in which the clothing symbolism is heightened in that it signals significant development in the narrative, creating a semantic moment in which the clothed character moves the story forward.

3.2 Virgil's *Aeneid*

Publius Vergilius Maro (Virgil) lived from 70-19 BC, born near the northern Italian city of Mantua to a family of some degree of wealth. He was educated at Cremona and Milan, and possibly acquired equestrian rank from Julius Caesar. He owned a house in Rome, but is said to have preferred living in Naples where he was buried, and indeed he has been described as "as much Celtic as Italian or Etruscan."⁸⁵ Nevertheless his strong connections to Octavius Augustus are clear by the extensive biographical tradition about him,⁸⁶ and the resulting influence of his work on Roman imperial culture and beyond is

85. Werner Suerbaum, "Vergilius," BNP, 15.295-314; Robert Fitzgerald, ed., *The Aeneid* (New York, 1984), 411, quoted in Henry Bender, "De Habitu Vestis: Clothing in the Aeneid," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 146-52, 146; and Randall T. Ganiban, *Vergil: Aeneid 1-6*, ed. Randall T. Ganiban et al., The Focus Vergil Aeneid Commentaries (Newburyport, MA: Focus, 2012), 2-7.

86. This includes the *Vita Donatiana* and Suetonius' *Vita Vergilii*; see Werner Suerbaum, "Vergilius," 15.295-314.

difficult to overestimate.⁸⁷ Thus the literary symbolic use of clothing in his works may say as much about the provincial culture as well as mainstream Roman culture.⁸⁸

Virgil's epic poem the *Aeneid* was written at the end of his life in the 20's BC, and therefore during the zenith of Octavius Augustus' reign after he solidified his position as *princeps*.⁸⁹ The story is centered around Aeneas and the testing and development of his character through the epic adventure of establishing the city of Rome. As such, the main character embodies the qualities that define Roman values and virtues, whose excellence is displayed and celebrated by the story, and therefore constructs a national identity for Rome in the "refounding" of Troy.⁹⁰ This excellence, and its connection to the clothing of Roman citizenry is signaled in a critical introductory speech of Jupiter to Venus in decreeing the glory of Romans, "the lords of the world, and the nation of the gown" (i.e. "toga-clad nation," *gentem togatam*) (1.282).⁹¹ This reference to clothing, here symbolizing the virtue and power of the Romans and thus their fitness to rule the world, is but the beginning of numerous literary symbolic uses of clothing in Virgil's work.

While the word *toga* does not actually appear in the *Aeneid* apart from the adjectival form in the reference above, it has been pointed out that to have used the word would have been unacceptably anachronistic in a story that speaks of Rome's founding from the Trojans. Instead, Virgil uses the cognate word-group of *amictus* twelve times, which was a more general term for a draped mantle, and which therefore could easily

87. Yasmin Syed, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Roman Self: Subject and Nation in Literary Discourse* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 13-32.

88. Katharine Toll, "Making Roman-Ness and the 'Aeneid,'" *Classical Antiquity* 16, (1997): 34-56.

89. Suerbaum, "Vergilius;" and Joseph Farrell, "Virgil," *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece & Rome*, 7:181-193.

90. Kimberly K. Bell, "'Translatio' and the Constructs of a Roman Nation in Virgil's 'Aeneid,'" *Rocky Mountain Review* 62, (2008): 11-24.

91. Randall T. Ganiban, *Vergil: Aeneid 1-6*, 13.

lend itself to toga-clad imagery.⁹² Our exploration of the symbolic use of clothing in the *Aeneid* will primarily track along this word.

The word first occurs early in the story, after Aeneas, alone with his comrade Achates, reaches the Tyrian city of Carthage ruled by the queen Dido. Prior to entering, Aeneas encounters his mother, the goddess Venus, who sends the two men on their way to the city, enveloping them "in a thick mantle (*amictu*) of cloud, that none might see or touch them, none delay or seek the cause of their coming" (1.412-14).⁹³ Upon seeing the beauty and wealth of the city, Aeneas is caused to "dare to hope for safety and put surer trust in his shattered fortunes" (1.451-2). Yet upon setting eyes on Dido and unexpectedly seeing their comrades beseeching her for safety, "they keep hidden ... clothed in the enfolding (*amicti*) cloud" (1.516). Aeneas is unclothed with this cloud of invisibility when the narrative reaches the point where Aeneas steps out in joining his comrades' trust of the safety to be provided by Dido (1.586ff). While *amictus* is clearly used metaphorically here to refer to the divine cloud covering, it is difficult to tell at this point whether the language is being used symbolically, so we will move on and offer further considerations of this passage later.

The next occurrence of the word is in Book Three, located within Aeneas' lengthy account to queen Dido of the treacherous tale of how he and his men had come to arrive at Carthage. Having landed on the shores of Epirus after receiving ill omens from the chief of the Harpies, Aeneas encounters king Helenus, friend and Trojan kin. Helenus' role is priestly in nature as he prophesies Aeneas' safety through the coming tortuous journey to arrive safely at Italy, which seems so close at this point in the narrative

92. Bender, "De Habitu Vestis," 149.

93. All translations of the *Aeneid* are taken from Fairclough, LCL.

(3.369-83), by giving him instructions and warnings to heed. When Aeneas finally reaches Italy, he is to raise "altars and [pay] vows on the shore, veil [his] hair with covering of purple robe (*purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu*), that in the worship of the gods no hostile face may intrude amid the holy fires and mar the omens" (3.404-7). Upon reaching the Italian shore only a short while later, Aeneas obeys exactly: "Then we pray to the holy power of Pallas ... before the altar veiled our heads in Phrygian robe (*et capite ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu*), and, following the urgent charge which Helenus had given, duly offer to Argive Juno the burnt sacrifice prescribed" (3.543-7). The wording is nearly identical with that of Helenus' instruction in 3.405, the only major difference being that *Phrygius* is used in place of *purpurea*. The word *Phrygius* may simply be used as a synonym, since a common recipe for making purple was by use of Phrygian purple stone.⁹⁴ On the other hand, not only were Phrygian textiles well known and established in the ancient world,⁹⁵ Phrygian purple could easily be considered in the same class as that of Tyrian purple so commonly associated with royalty⁹⁶ - an important distinction given that the ancient world recognized many forms of "purple" (see above). Moreover, given that the *Aeneid* was highly influenced by the Homeric writings,⁹⁷ Homer's close connection between the Trojans and Phrygians may be influencing the choice of words here.⁹⁸ The imagery of Aeneas in the text is highly suggestive of the common image of Augustus *capite velato* in his function as *pontifex maximus*, with the

94. See the Leiden X Papyrus in Andrew N. Sherwood, John W. Humphrey, and John P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Technology: A Sourcebook: Annotated Translations of Greek and Latin Texts and Documents* (London: Routledge, 1998), 341; and Bender, "De Habitu Vestis: Clothing in the Aeneid," 151 n.15.

95. Mary W. Ballard, "King Midas' Textiles and His Golden Touch," in *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas: Gordion Special Studies 7*, ed. C. Brian Rose (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 165-70, 165.

96. See e.g. Ovid, *Metam.*, 6.166, 222.

97. Ganiban, *Vergil: Aeneid Books 1-6*, 7-8.

98. See Homer, *Il.*, 2.862, et al.

color purple evoking that of blood, enabling him to view only good omens in his priestly function,⁹⁹ with head covered in contradistinction to Greek worship praxis.¹⁰⁰

In evaluating the symbolism that may be present here in the *amictus*, one must consider the moment that is involved in the two scenes. In other words, what is the larger narrative framework, or world, in which these scenes are operating and is there a particular focal point to be aware of in the narrative at this point? A major theme of the book, and arguably the most fundamental, is the lineage and establishment of both the Roman city and the Roman religion and its right or fitness to rulership (*imperium*) over all others. The story's introduction orients the reader to Aeneas' purpose of enduring hardship and chaos, "till he should *build a city and bring his Gods to Latium*; whence came the Latin race, the lords of Alba, and the walls of lofty Rome" (1.5-7). These lines form an *inclusio* with words of Aeneas in 12:190-192: "I will not bid the Italians be subject to Teucrians, nor do I seek the realm for mine; under equal terms let both nations, unconquered, enter upon an everlasting compact. *Gods and their rites I will give*."¹⁰¹ Indeed, one may trace the unsuccessful attempts by Aeneas to found a new city three times in the story (3.13-69, 3.132-139, 5.746-761) while "Fate" drives him forward until he reaches the destined location.¹⁰² The moment at which Aeneas actually reaches the destined land is therefore highly significant. This is especially true since the Romans not only considered their dominion of the world to be in accordance with and reflection of

99. Bender, "De Habitu Vestis: Clothing in the Aeneid," 149.

100. R. Deryck Williams, ed., *Virgil: Aeneid I-VI* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1972), 303; Christine Perkell, "Aeneid 3," in *Virgil: Aeneid 1-6*, ed. Randall Ganiban, *The Focus Vergil Aeneid Commentaries* (Newburyport, MA: Focus, 2012), 300.

101. Bell, "'Translatio' and the Constructs of a Roman Nation in Virgil's 'Aeneid,'" 14-17; and Heather M. Gorman, "What Has Aeneas to Do with Paul? Gender, Head Coverings, and Ancient Appeals to Origin Stories," *Priscilla Papers* 30, (2016): 11-17, 11. Cf. *Aeneid*, 7.229-31.

102. Bell, "'Translatio' and the Constructs of a Roman Nation in the 'Aeneid'", 14.

the order and will of the divine realm,¹⁰³ but also because they considered that the particular geographical location from which they ruled attested to their fitness and right to do so.¹⁰⁴ Thus it is at the very point when Aeneas the Trojan-Phrygian reaches Italian land that he starts dressing and acting quintessentially Roman.¹⁰⁵ The imagery of the purple *amictus*, then, symbolically evokes the Augustan royal-priesthood, simultaneously symbolizing the fitness of Augustus' lineage to rule the Roman land and the fitness of Augustus' lineage to obtain and mediate the favor of the gods toward Roman land under his rulership.

From here we move to the occurrence of *amictus* in Book Eight. In Book Seven Aeneas finally reaches not just Italy, but the River Tiber itself, the very nautical path to the city of Rome. He then reaches the king of the Latins, King Latinus, who openly welcomes Aeneas and his people, remembering divine portents about the coming of a stranger destined to marry his daughter and bring the entire world under the subjection of the Latins. Yet Juno, as the reader has been trained to expect, concocts treachery and strife by poisoning the mind of the queen Amata against marriage to Aeneas, and the plot quickly turns to find Latinus in fear of chaos and allying the neighboring kingdoms to make war on Aeneas. It is with the threat of war upon Aeneas, having come so far, that Tiberinus, the god of the Tiber river, soothes Aeneas' fears: "here thy home is sure--draw not back--and sure are thy gods! Nor be scared by threats of war" (8:39-40). While what Aeneas hears is comforting, this is reinforced by what he sees: "thin lawn draped

103. Philip R. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

104. Strabo, *Geogr.*, 286; Livy 5.54.4; see Peter Garnsey and Richard Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 5.

105. Nicholas Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 3: A Commentary*, Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava Supplementum (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 306.

[Tiberinus] in mantle (*velabat amictu*) of grey, and shady reeds crowned his hair" (8:33-4). With the imagery of a draped *amictu*, the color grey being common for a toga, the river god himself *looks* Roman wearing the same clothing as Aeneas when he made an altar upon his first landing at Italy, thereby symbolizing the fitness of that land as Roman land.

There are other characters who wear the *amictus*. Supposing King Latinus to be dead, Queen Amata commits suicide by hanging from a beam by purple robes (*purpureos amictus*, 12.602). Likewise Juturnus, the king's sister, kills herself by jumping into the river wearing a grey *amictus* (12.885), the color perhaps linking her to the river who was wearing the same color in 8.33. The god Charon, warden of the underworld, is described as wearing *sordidus amictus* (6.301). Iapyx, the healer who attends to Aeneas after he is wounded in battle, is described as wearing a *succintus*, or "rolled back," *amictus* (12.401). Finally, there are two other characters with whom the *amictus* is associated: Entellus, takes his *amictus* off during the Aenean games in 5.421, and Aventinus, the son of Hercules, is portrayed as going into battle, "his shoulders enveloped in the garb (*amictu*) of Hercules" (7.669). Lastly, Aeneas cremates Pallas, the son of Evander, the ruler of the city of Rome and Aeneas' ally in the war against the Latins, by draping him with an *amictus* that is "stiff with purple and gold" (11.72-7).

With all these occurrences of the word *amictus* laid out before us, evaluation of the symbolic use of the word will be progressed by considering the role that it plays within the larger framework of the *Aeneid* in which there is a sharp dichotomy between Romans and Greeks, or at least Greeks that are characteristically so. Yasmin Syed cogently argues that one of the major functions of the *Aeneid* is the formation of the

Roman self.¹⁰⁶ Aeneas himself is constructed in such a particular way as to portray *Romanitas par excellence* in such a characterization as to be easily identified with, and he is the central figure with respect to whom all other characters are oriented. There are good Greeks in the story, but they are only the ones who align or ally with Aeneas and his Trojan heritage. Bad Greeks, on the other hand, is a pervasive thread through the story, linked together by their primary trait of cunning and untrustworthiness. This characterization is set as early as Book Two, particularly in the characters of Sinon and Achilles' son Neoptolemus (2.57-198, 469-558). The Carthaginians are inextricably linked with 'bad Greeks,' not least in the cunning and frenzied character of their queen Dido, but further through the untrustworthy goddess Juno, who is the patron goddess of Carthage (1.12-16) and who is behind the Greek overthrow of Troy depicted on her temple in Carthage (1.23-28, 456-93).¹⁰⁷ This twin configuration of both character and god/goddess association drives the rest of the characters in the story.

Thus when Aeneas reaches the people along the Tiber, although it is his destiny to unite the Latins with the Trojans to form one new people, the opposition that he meets among the Latins are those who align with the Greeks. King Latinus himself is virtuous and displays Roman character, remaining aloof from fighting Aeneas, but both the queen Amata and the king's sister Juturnus have the same instability and untrustworthy character found in Greeks, and likewise are either easily influenced by or already have established loyalty towards Juno (7.341-72; 12.134-60). They are seen to be wearing the Roman *amictus*, but only at their deaths, which are in response to Aeneas' victory. They

106. Syed, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Roman Self*.

107. See Syed, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Roman Self*, 199-204.

look Roman at first, by virtue of their lineage, but are unable to cope and are therefore unworthy to be Roman.¹⁰⁸

Other characters wearing the *amictus* fall along different lines. The god Charon naturally wears an *amictus* as a Greek deity appropriated by the Romans. Entellus (Book Five) belongs to the Trojan lineage and shows himself superior in the boxing match of the Aenean games. He does, however, display a degree of rage and bitterness unacceptable to Aeneas (5.424-84), which may be connected with the removal of his *amictus*. Iapyx the healer is portrayed with an *amictus* at a critical moment in the story where Aeneas is wounded in battle against the Latins. With Aeneas' mission to found Rome in jeopardy, Iapyx's healing hand is guided by Venus to restore him back to divine-like strength. Pallas is shown Roman honor by Aeneas when he covers him with a purple and gold threaded *amictus* on the funeral pyre. Henry Bender categorizes Pallas with Amata and Juturna, who "are characterized as those who are unable to live in a world with Trojans."¹⁰⁹ However, in the story Pallas is linked neither with Greek or Carthaginian characterization nor the goddess Juno.¹¹⁰ It seems more likely that Pallas' death in the story functions to open up Evander's lineage of Roman rulership for Aeneas to enter and take his place as ruler of Rome (11.167-8).

108. Bender, "De Habitu Vestis: Clothing in the Aeneid," 149.

109. Bender, "De Habitu Vestis: Clothing in the Aeneid," 149.

110. There's a small link with Dido in repetition of the description of Aeneas' clothing given him by Dido in 4.264, and the description of what Aeneas drapes on Pallas in 11.75; see R. Deryck Williams, ed., *Virgil: Aeneid VII-XII* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1973), 385. However, the nature of this link is not entirely clear. What is clear is that Aeneas drapes his cloak on Pallas as symbolic of distinction and honor (Danielle Frisby, "Redressing Epic: Blood and Gold on the Cloak of Polyneices in Statius' Thebaid," in *Spinning Fates and the Song of the Loom: The Use of Textiles, Clothing and Cloth Production as Metaphor, Symbol and Narrative Device in Greek and Latin Literature*, ed. Giovanni Fanfani, Mary Harlow, and Marie-Louise Nosch, Ancient Textiles Series 24 [Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016], 297-312, 309).

Finally we consider Aventinus, who is named the son of Hercules and is listed as fighting alongside Turnus against Aeneas, suggesting an alignment with Greek characterization. Yet there is another layer of complexity. This story of war is set in light of Octavius' conquering of inter-Roman warfare and the bringing of peace, suggesting that the war between Aeneas and Turnus, the "Trojans" and the "Latins," is in some way a story of Caesar Augustus' establishment of the *Pax Romana* and the quelling of warfare among the Romans. Thus the men listed in Virgil's catalogue of Aeneas' foes in Book Seven, though allies of Turnus the antagonist, are nevertheless given a heroic and honorable accounting as the ancestors of the Latins, probably both for their own sake and for the sake of increasing the honor of Aeneas who overcomes them in battle.¹¹¹ Indeed 7.733 strongly suggests that Virgil is esteeming at least many of the Latin lords: "Nor shalt thou, Oebalus, pass unhonoured in our songs." And when Aeneas' men first encounter King Latinus, we are informed of the nature of the Latins: "be not unaware that the Latins are Saturn's race, righteous not by bond or laws, but self-controlled of their own free will and by the custom of their ancient god" (7.202-4). This suggests that Aventinus' *amictus* paints his character in honorable light, which may be further suggested by the fact that his death is never mentioned in the story.

From here we return to the supernatural cloud that covers the hero in Book One as he enters Carthage (see above). Taken on its own, the *amictus* could simply be a poetic metaphor for a cloudy covering. But given that the *amictus* is used consistently in a symbolic manner throughout the *Aeneid*, it is reasonable to infer the same here. In following the plot of the story in Book One, the reader is informed of the gods decree to

111. Williams, *Virgil: Aeneid VII-XII*, 208-9, 214.

found the city of Rome, and then introduced to Aeneas who is struggling at sea. They quickly find themselves stranded at Carthage, but their Roman identity is suggested through the *amictus*, which the reader finds out later in Book Three had previously been given to Aeneas through Helenus on the island of Sicily (3.405). This Roman identity is removed, however, as the hero effectively entrusts himself to Dido and we quickly find him clothed in a new, alien identity when Mercury finds him building Carthage in Book Four.

This analysis helps make sense of another significant but peculiar passage regarding clothing in the *Aeneid*. In Book Four Aeneas is unwittingly caught under the sway of Queen Dido's passions and lust. In response Mercury is sent from Jupiter to Aeneas who is distracted from, and therefore neglecting, his fated task (4.219-237).¹¹² Mercury lands to find Aeneas building Carthage and clothed in splendid attire: "his sword was starred with yellow jasper, and a cloak (*laena*) hung from his shoulders ablaze with Tyrian purple - a gift that wealthy Dido had wrought" (4:261-3). Occurring only here in the *Aeneid*, a *laena* was about twice the size of a toga and was the distinctive garment of flamine priests.¹¹³ At this point in the story Aeneas is not even performing any priestly duty, and he is peculiarly portrayed as attired like an Eastern monarch,¹¹⁴ and therefore quickly judged by Mercury to be enslaved to his wife (4.266) rather than acting like a warrior.¹¹⁵ Aeneas' raiment suggests that he has here achieved some level of status, wealth, and glory, but it is ironically revealed as empty as at the very moment when his

112. R. Deryck Williams, *Virgil: Aeneid I-VI*, 354-5.

113. Bender, "De Habitu Vestis: Clothing in the Aeneid," 149-50.

114. Syed, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Roman Self*, 197.

115. James J. O'Hara, "Aeneid 4," in *Virgil: Aeneid 1-6*, ed. Randall Ganiban, The Focus Vergil Aeneid Commentaries (Newburyport, MA: Focus, 2012), 340-1.

error is revealed to him. In what follows, Dido's fate is sealed by her attempt to hold Aeneas in her power resulting in her own death (4.651-92).¹¹⁶ Thus the portrayal of Aeneas' disorientation is brought into clearer focus by the symbolic use of the *laena*. Furthermore, when Aeneas finally reaches the last leg of his journey and is prepared to fight the final battle to overthrow his enemies, he reappears from the divine realm in divine glory and clothed in full brilliant military cuirass forged by the gods to lead his people to victory and give them a home (8.441, 528-9, 608-25; 10.270-75).

In evaluating the symbolic use of the toga-like *amictus*, we see how the clothing is inextricably linked with the founding of Rome and the representation of its values. As such, it is inextricably bound with the character of Aeneas who is first seen covered with it in a metaphorical sense in Book One, and then in a literal sense in Book Three, which is brought into particular focus through repetition of the *pontifex maximus* scene in the giving of prophecy followed by the carrying out of that prophecy. As such, the *amictus* becomes bound to the character qualities and virtues that are tested and displayed in Aeneas' paradigmatic character. Among other attributes, he displays righteousness and is valiant in battle (11.126); by virtue of his destiny to join the Trojan and Latin races, his righteousness is inherent in his being just as it is in the Latins (7.202-4); he is the builder of Rome (11.130-1); and he displays strength, courage, and resolve to power. Those that either stand with him or are divine beings that reflect his Roman destiny wear the *amictus*, and those that wear the *amictus* but are unable to cope with his imminent rulership, identifying with that which is Greek and unmanly, are deprived of life. This is reflected furthermore in Aeneas' lapse in wearing Greek clothing and building Dido's

116.Frisby, "Redressing Epic," 304.

Carthage in Book 4, and Aeneas' recovery and drive towards destiny in arriving in the divine splendor and glory of the Roman military cuirass to bring salvation to his people and establish their homeland.

We may also observe how clothing marks significant turning points in the narrative, thereby heightening reader expectations and framing how the story of Aeneas' destiny is completed. In Book One Aeneas is cloaked and hidden by the *amictus* in Carthage until this metaphorical clothing is removed in making an alliance with Dido, marking his "de-Romanization" by joining with her. The next major turning point in the narrative is marked in Book Four by the unfortunate transformation of Aeneas' clothing into that of an eastern king serving and being subdued by his queen until he removes this clothing in setting his resolve back into pursuing his rightful destiny. This destiny has already been solidified in the readers' perception by Aeneas' recounting in Book Three of having landed on the homeland Italy clothed in his priestly *amictus*. Aeneas' Roman destiny is solidified when he and his crew finally reach their destined city on the Tiber, and find the river god clothed in the *amictus* to give his blessing. Finally, the beginning of the story's climax in which Aeneas is set to overcome the last and greatest struggle in order to reach his glorious destiny, overcome his enemies, and found a new people is signaled by Aeneas' return in his military cuirass shining in divine glory.

Overall, then, Virgil uses clothing to symbolically portray virtuous character qualities, or the lack of those qualities, and he symbolically marks how these are developed in character by means of the plot. Furthermore, since the plot itself entails the fitness of rulership and power for those who display the right qualities, these symbolic moments of clothing in the story are at times heightened in their symbolism in order to

demonstrate how fitness for rulership is achieved by the action of the character's virtues in the progress of the story at critical moments in the plot. The symbolism of the clothing thus comes to entail, by means of the whole story, both the status of those who are fit to rule and the character of virtue that is necessarily bound up with that status. The boundary of status falls along ethnically Roman lines, but not in a static manner. Inasmuch as Rome defined the virtues, so the virtues defined who was Roman and who could attain the status "Roman." Likewise, Virgil evokes the loss of that status by "would-be" Romans precisely by their lack of Roman virtue and their alignment with those who embody Roman virtue. Right character quality, ethnicity, and right to power are all bound together to clothing portrayal in Virgil's story.

3.3 Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum*

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus was born around AD 70 in an equestrian family that had connections to the Julio-Claudian emperors, and served in the courts of Trajan and Hadrian between c. AD 113 and 122 before his death in c. AD 130.¹¹⁷ Evidence suggests that Suetonius wrote *De Vita Caesarum* between the years AD 119 and 122, during Hadrian's reign. His career in public office gave him opportunity to reflect on the nature of the office of Caesar, reflection that would have been enhanced by his client status with Pliny the Younger, a consul and close connection of emperor Trajan who ruled AD 98-117. As Suetonius' patron, Pliny would have had a significant influence on him, not least regarding his views on the nature of the ideal emperor and *optimus princeps*. In fact, Suetonius likely listened to Pliny's ideas as expounded in his *Panegyricus* to Trajan.

117. Donna W. Hurley, "Suetonius," *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, 6.397-399.

Nero's insanity and suicide that ended the Julio-Claudian dynasty, followed by the chaos of the "Year of the Four Emperors" in AD 69, and problems with the Flavians in Domitian, sparked deep concern over the personal character possessed by the Emperor and heightened scrutiny of its rulership.¹¹⁸ Thus with the Flavian emperors came a heightened focus on reform of Caesar's personal character, which continued and grew with Nerva, close supporter of the Flavians and the beginning of the Nerva-Antonine dynasty.

Suetonius' project in *De Vita* is therefore best understood as falling closely along the lines of Pliny's intent in writing the *Panegyricus*: "To proffer advice on an Emperor's duties (*qualis princeps*) might be a noble enterprise, but it would be a heavy responsibility verging on insolence, whereas to praise an excellent ruler and thereby shine a beacon on the path posterity should follow would be equally effective without appearing presumptuous."¹¹⁹ Suetonius is concerned with the emperors alone, giving portraits that assume a specific set of values and virtues that prompt praise or condemnation based on the portrayed behavior or character, all with respect to the vision of the ideal emperor best understood as portrayed in the *Panegyricus* (100 AD).¹²⁰ Thus *De Vita Caesarum* is both biographical and possesses at least a loose literary construction that serves to prompt praise or condemnation, rather than merely being a compendium of recorded biographical data.¹²¹

118. See Pliny, *Pan.* 2, 4-10, et passim.

119. Pliny, *Ep.* 3.18.3 (Radice, LCL). See Keith R. Bradley, "The Imperial Ideal in Suetonius' 'Caesares,'" *ANRW* 33.5:3713-14.

120. Bradley, "The Imperial Ideal in Suetonius' 'Caesares,'" 33.5:3715-29.

121. See Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius: The Scholar and His Caesars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 10-22; Wolf Steidle, *Sueton und die antike Biographie*, 2nd ed., *Zetemata: Monographien zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1 (München: Beck, 1963), esp. 126-177; R.G. Lewis, "Suetonius' 'Caesares' and Their Literary Antecedents," in *ANRW* 33.5:3624, 3641-74; and Donna W. Hurley, "Suetonius' Rubric Sandwich," in *Suetonius the Biographer: Studies in Roman Lives*, ed.

Among character portrayals by Suetonius, the emperors' personal appearance is often significant, and their clothing is part of his rubric. We will explore Suetonius' portrayal of emperors via clothing and consider possible symbolic usages that emerge. Space prohibits exploration of all twelve emperors, so focus will be placed on Augustus, a paradigmatically 'good' emperor, and Nero, a paradigmatically 'bad' emperor.

Although his portrayal of Octavius Augustus has its complexities, Suetonius portrays Augustus in a positive and exemplary light overall. Tristan Power draws attention to the ring structure present in each of the various *Lives*, pointing out that the beginning and ending of *Divus Augustus* portrays Augustus "as an exemplary figure, just like his ancestor Octavian, who acted in such a way as a leader that his conduct was followed by later generations and a monument was built in his honour."¹²² Suetonius begins the closing of his introductory section by summarizing Octavian's life (8) using his "assuming the gown of manhood (*virili toga sumpta*)"¹²³ as a crucial point of reference for his ascent to glory. The account of military activity that follows (9-25) is deemed honorable: "But he never made war on any nation without just and due cause, and he was so far from desiring to increase his dominion or his military glory at any cost, that he forced the chiefs of certain barbarians to take oath on the temple of Mars the Avenger that they would faithfully keep the peace for which they asked" (21.2).

After recounting his military endeavors, Suetonius gives a fairly lengthy discourse on Augustus' accomplishments in matters of State (26-50).¹²⁴ Augustus does have some

Tristan Power and Roy K. Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 21–37, 36.

122. Tristan Power, "The Endings of Suetonius' Caesars," in *Suetonius the Biographer: Studies in Roman Lives*, ed. Tristan Power and Roy K. Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 58–80, 60.

123. All translations of the *De Vita Caesarum* are taken from Rolfe, LCL.

124. For the structure of *Augustus*, see D. Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus: Vita Divi Augusti*, Clarendon Ancient History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 10-18.

shortcomings in usurpation and poor judgment in leniency and severity (26-27), but this is overshadowed by massive accomplishments of the beautification of Rome and building of public works, reform of the priesthood and religious rites, good administration of public justice and law, distribution of honors, generosity and public welfare, and prudent structuring of provincial politics, described in such a way that canonizes the *Res Gestae*.¹²⁵ As he prudently carries out his reforms, Suetonius describes him wearing mail under his tunic to protect against possible acts of treachery in reforming the Senate (35.1). Among those things taking central place in his reforms is that of clothing: "Once when he saw in an assembly a throng of men in dark cloaks (*pullatus*), he cried out indignantly, 'Behold them Romans, lords of the world, the nation clad in the toga (*gentem togatam*)',"¹²⁶ and he directed the aediles never again to allow anyone to appear in the Forum or its neighborhood except in the toga and without a cloak (*lacerna*)" (40.5). The importance of this edict is enough to warrant repetition a few chapters later in describing regulations for the viewing of games, in which he decreed that "no one wearing a dark cloak (*pullatus*) should sit in the middle of the house" (44.2). Whereas the white toga represented Roman-ness, and its overarching virtues of manliness and power, those wearing *pullati*, dark clothes of some kind, did not *look* Roman and therefore were excluded by Augustus from holding a central place in society.¹²⁷

The toga reappears in the next section (51-60), in which Suetonius describes the personal character and integrity of Augustus in carrying out his duties of State. Among

125. See Erik Gunderson, "E.g. Augustus: Exemplum in the Augustus and Tiberius," in *Suetonius the Biographer: Studies in Roman Lives*, ed. Tristan Power and Roy K. Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 130–45, 133; Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, 24–5.

126. See Vergil, *Aen.* 1.282.

127. See Glenys Davies, "What Made the Roman Toga Virilis?," in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 121–30; Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, 308.

the evidences of his "clemency and moderation" (51.1) is his refusal of indulgence in honors and crowd adoration, such that "when the people did their best to force the dictatorship upon him, he knelt down, threw off his toga from his shoulders and with bare breast begged them not to insist" (52.1). Here it seems that to be "toga-clad" and Roman is so interchangeable that to be so un-Roman in character as to accept a dictatorial office is to be un-clad of the toga.

Having demonstrated that Augustus was largely exemplary in the public sphere, Suetonius recounts details regarding his private life (61-89). A number of shortcomings, such as adultery and licentious behavior is recounted first. But this is minimized by being subsumed under what Mark Antony claimed, and was refuted by Augustus (71.1),¹²⁸ and is quickly overshadowed by the fact that "in the other details of his life it is generally agreed that he was most temperate and without even the suspicion of any fault" (72.1).¹²⁹ Thus after describing his general preference for house type and location, Suetonius notes the modesty of his furniture and then clothing:

Except on special occasions he wore common clothes (*vestis domestica*) for the house ... his togas were neither close nor full, his purple stripe neither narrow nor broad, and his shoes somewhat high-soled, to make him look taller than he was. But he always kept shoes and clothing to wear in public ready in his room for sudden and unexpected occasions (73.1).

Augustus' clothing was un-ostentatious, and its features were perfectly balanced and decorous, appropriate for all occasions. Likewise, Suetonius later describes how Augustus would protect himself with four tunics and a heavy toga in winter (82.1), appropriate for the season and for hiding ailment.¹³⁰

128. Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, 37-8.

129. See Hurley, "Suetonius' Rubric Sandwich," 27-28.

130. Shelley Hales, "Men Are Mars, Women Are Venus: Divine Costumes in Imperial Rome," in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones

At the end of the book Suetonius recounts omens and auspices of both Augustus' birth and greatness, and his death and divinization. As an omen of his greatness, "when Augustus was assuming the gown of manhood (*toga virilis*), his senatorial tunic (*tunica lati clavi*) was ripped apart on both sides and fell at his feet" 94.10. Suetonius then even notes that some took this as symbolic "that the order of which the tunic was the badge would one day be brought to his feet." It is also notable that whereas for most emperors Suetonius only references their donning of the *toga virilis* once, and some not at all, he makes reference to Augustus' *toga virilis* twice, and at a location that mirrors that of section 8 in the ring-structure fashion noted above. In combination with the references above, this suggests that Augustus is portrayed as the toga-clad Roman *par excellence*, and thus the ideal, or at least nearly ideal, Roman emperor, whose character serves as exemplary for later Roman emperors and the Romans themselves.¹³¹ All this is likely in play as Suetonius recounts signs of his impending death, among which we find something unusual in the toga-champion. When passengers of an Alexandrian ship flatter him with praise he responds by distributing "togas and cloaks (*pallia*) ... stipulating that the Romans should use the Greek dress and language and the Greeks the Roman" (98.3). Augustus' end is signaled by a lapse in character by the mixing of the toga with that of the *pallium*,¹³² the quintessential garment of the Greeks, although even this account is overshadowed by an honorable closure in 99-104.¹³³

(Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 131-42, 132.

131. Gunderson, "E.g. Augustus: Exemplum in the Augustus and Tiberius," 130-41.

132. Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, 544, interprets this positively, which is quite possible, but is less likely given the continuity of 98 with 97, where the death omens begin, and the close connections with the account of indulgent activity at the end of 98.3.

133. Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, 39, writes, "Aug. emerges as a *pater familias* who made appropriate provision for his heirs, displayed due generosity, and provided for the actual payment of his legacies, and as a Father of the Fatherland ..."

Nero is constructed by Suetonius in many ways as the antithetical character to Augustus, whose behavior fittingly constitutes the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Suetonius begins his account of Nero (1-5) by retracing a certain family lineage apart from Augustus "to show more clearly that though Nero degenerated from the good qualities of his ancestors, he yet reproduced the vices of each of them, as if transmitted to him by natural inheritance" (1.2). This is followed by a number of auspices from his youth that foreshadowed the fruition of this wicked disposition (6-7).¹³⁴ Chapter 8 transitions to the rise of Nero as emperor in the death of Claudius and the following chapters suggest that the beginning of his rulership is promising. After exhibiting piety in presiding over the funeral for Claudius he "declared that he would rule according to the principles of Augustus, and he let slip no opportunity for acts of generosity and mercy" (10.1). He exhibits decent administration of the games and just administration in matters of the State regarding appointed offices, as well as carrying out some building projects in a manner akin to Augustus and enacting numerous laws against legal abuses.

Yet striking in Suetonius' account is the lack of Nero's assumption of the *toga virilis*, which is noted by Tacitus as having been granted prematurely.¹³⁵ All five emperors prior are pictured at the beginning as having donned the *toga virilis*, and Galba and Vespasian after him are portrayed likewise.¹³⁶ Indeed, the last two groups of three emperors may be constructed with the first emperor (Galba and Vespasian) standing as a sort of representative of the whole (Books 7 and 8, respectively).¹³⁷ If this is so, Nero's

134. See K. R. Bradley, *Suetonius' Life of Nero: An Historical Commentary*, vol. 157, Collection Latomus (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1978), *Nero*, 19-20 for the structure of *Nero*.

135. *Annals* 12.41.1; cf. Bradley, *Suetonius' Life of Nero*, 58.

136. See *Julius C.* 1.1; *Aug.* 8.1, 94.10; *Tib.* 7.1; *Cal.* 10.1; *Claud.* 2.2; *Galb.* 4.3; *Vesp.* 2.2.

137. See Power, "The Endings of Suetonius' Caesars," 65-73.

lack of the *toga virilis* is very striking, but even if this is not the case, his missing toga is still striking given the lineage of emperors before him. Although the reader is given a favorable glimpse of Nero peacefully subduing the king of Armenia while wearing "the attire of a triumphing general" (13.1), we soon find him in clothing that marks his downward decent.

Suetonius describes Nero's reversal with a threatening portent in which Nero was inspecting the temples, and upon sitting in the shrine of Vesta, the fringe of his garment (*lacinia*) was caught in attempting to get up, and he was struck by temporary blindness (19.1). As Nero's descent into foolishness begins with clothing, so it is further marked by clothing as Nero becomes more and more enamored with theatre performance. In chapter 21 the reader finds Nero wearing masks "fashioned in the likeness of his own features or those of the women of whom he chanced to be enamored" (21.3). It is then with irony that "At the last named performance they say that a young recruit, seeing the emperor in mean attire and bound with chains, as the subject required, rushed forward to lend him aid." Beyond that of looking like a captured, helpless woman, Nero's descent is fulfilled when he returns from the Isthmian games riding in Augustus' victory chariot in triumphal procession, but wearing "a purple robe (*vestis*) and a Greek cloak (*chlamys*) adorned with stars of gold" (25.1). Thus the account of Nero's descent (19-25) is brought to a close with him dressed like a Greek king rather than a Roman emperor.

From this point on Nero's fully debased lifestyle is accounted by Suetonius who signals the next section (26-38) as follows: "Although at first his acts of wantonness, lust, extravagance, avarice and cruelty were gradual and secret, and might be condoned as follies of youth, yet even then their nature was such that no one doubted that they were

defects of his character" (26.1).¹³⁸ In what follows Suetonius gives an account of Nero's sexual vices, extreme acts of licentiousness, greed and gambling, uselessly extravagant building projects, murder and parricide, adultery and cruelty, and a lust for killing. In one particular account of his sexual vices he is pictured in de-humanized dress when "he at last devised a kind of game, in which, covered with the skin of some wild animal (*ferae pelle contectus*), he was let loose from a cage" (29.1). The account of his vices are brought to completion with the burning of Rome as he looks on in delight while singing re-garbed in theater clothing: "Viewing the conflagration from the tower of Maecenas and exulting, as he said, in 'the beauty of the flames,' he sang the 'Sack of Ilium,' in his regular stage costume (*scaenico habitu*)" (38.2).¹³⁹

Suetonius transitions with an account of a few ill-fortunes (39) to bring the reader to the account of Nero's end: "after the world had put up with such a ruler for nearly fourteen years, it at last cast him off" (40.1). Upon learning of Galba's revolt he tears his clothing (42.1, *vestis*) and Nero's rejection by everyone increases until finally he can find no one to kill him and he cries out "Have I then neither friend nor foe?" (47.3). Then he flees barefoot and in his tunic, finds a "faded cloak" (48.1, *paenula obsoleti coloris*) that is torn by brambles before he finally reaches a villa and lies down on a couch "over which an old cloak (*vetus pallium*) had been thrown" (48.4). He finally commits suicide before he is taken by a centurion to die a criminal's death (49). It is not until his funeral, when he is "laid out in white robes (*stratugulae albae*) embroidered with gold" (50.1), that he looks honorable in any sense.¹⁴⁰ Suetonius notes at the very end that although

138. See Hurley, "Suetonius' Rubric Sandwich," 29; Bradley, *Suetonius' Life of Nero*, 153-5.

139. Contrast the more positive portrayal by Tacitus in *Ann.* 15.43.

140. *Stratugulae* are specifically funeral cloths.

there was huge public rejoicing at Nero's death, there were some who "produced his statues on the rostra in the fringed toga (*praetextatus*)" (57.1). Yet this is a false Nero,¹⁴¹ for the reader doesn't reach this text before reading Suetonius' physiognomical description of his odious and shameless clothing to match his behavior: "He was utterly shameless in the care of his person and in his dress ... and he often appeared in public in a dinner-gown (*synthesina*), with a handkerchief bound about his neck, ungirt and unshod" (51.1).¹⁴² Nero's general clothing, Suetonius recounts, is that of a woman, the *synthesina* being a bright-colored, loose, silk gown worn only by men at dinner during the Saturnalia and by women otherwise.

The portrayals of Augustus and Nero in clothing carefully aligns with their respective characters. Augustus is a man of virtue, strength, and wisdom, establishing law and enacting justice, maintaining decorum and propriety in practically every situation, displaying good patronage of both the State and the proper individuals in his works of construction and bestowal of favors and gifts. As such he is the man of the toga, *par excellence*, almost always portrayed wearing a toga, or simply wearing what is proper for the occasion, and at worst is portrayed as wearing simply *vestis*, a neutral word referring to clothing in a generic sense, but in context is elevated to a virtuous sense. In character and in clothing he is "Roman" in the best sense, and it is the end-of-life lapse of transgressing Greek and Roman clothing boundaries that signals his end.

On the other hand Nero is conspicuously portrayed wearing nearly everything *but* the toga. His decline is marked by Greek dress (*chlamys*) after the games, a style that

141. Hurley, "Suetonius' Rubric Sandwich," 30.

142. See Bradley, *Suetonius' Life of Nero*, 281-2.

associates him with eastern decadence and deviant masculinity,¹⁴³ and by the costume of a woman on stage. His stage costume reappears at the end of the accounting of his vices, as if he isn't a real emperor, but only acting as one, and his debauchery descends far enough that he even wears animal skin. The end of Nero's life finds him wearing only a tunic before he shortly ends up on his death bed with a torn *paenula*, faded in color just as Nero's life is quickly fading, and lying on an old *pallium*, a garment often worn by those attracted to the Greek way of life.¹⁴⁴ In the general portrayal of Nero's clothing, he is pictured as a woman, just as earlier on stage, and Suetonius' accounting of his character may be summarized by that which the Romans typically associated with women: capricious, lustful, extravagant, and cruel, among other vices.¹⁴⁵ Thus the clothing is symbolic of the character of both emperors.

Finally, although there is not much literary finesse in Suetonius' writing, we do find some basic features still present. Augustus' life is rounded out by the account of his general features and clothing and his *toga virilis* is used as a kind of framing device unlike any other emperor. Nero's descent into debauchery, and worthlessness as an emperor is marked by the clothing he wears and his reign is closed out with him dressed in stage costume. Finally, the reader views his impending death in ill-boding clothing that symbolizes that his life is in the pale; he is worn out and useless, completely devoid of any good Roman quality and therefore worthy of death.

143.Hales, 135; Mary Harlow, "Dress in the Historia Augusta: The Role of Dress in Historical Narrative," in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 143–53, 146–7.

144.Harlow, "Dress in the Historia Augusta," 146.

145.See e.g. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.4, 33; 13.13. Also note the analysis of the *Aeneid* above, which portrays women as the primary antagonistic force.

3.4 Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (*AJ*)

What may be known about Flavius Josephus is entirely dependent on his own works.¹⁴⁶ In his *Vita* we are told that he was born in AD 37/8, came from an honorable and prestigious Jewish priestly lineage, and became a Pharisee at a relatively early age. He was chosen as part of an embassy to Rome in AD 64, a visit which no doubt influenced how he understood the horrific events he witnessed as a Jewish military leader during the war of the Jews in AD 66-70. After being captured he came under the patronage of emperor Vespasian which eventually transferred to Titus, and was protected by Domitian until his death in AD 96. Josephus' year of death is unknown but may be set to c. AD 100.¹⁴⁷ Thus having been born in high Jewish society, and having had significant acclimation and close ties to Roman aristocracy, Josephus' works are significant as a perspective on Jewish cultural interaction with the Greco-Roman world.

Unlike his *Bellum Judaicum* (*BJ*), which was presented directly to Vespasian and Titus and received their personal support, Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* (*AJ*) was supported by a certain Epaphroditus, and was most probably written towards the end of Domitian's reign and completed around AD 93/4.¹⁴⁸ Exactly who Epaphroditus was is unknown, but it is clear that there is less imperial agenda behind *AJ* than for *BJ*. Josephus

146. Per Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, His Works, and Their Importance*, JSPSup 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 23.

147. See Emil Schürer et al., *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, Revised edition, 3 vols. (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), 1:43-6; Tessa Rajak, *Josephus*, 2nd edition (London: Duckworth, 2002), 42. Some of these details may be disputed (e.g. Steve Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Composition-Critical Study*, StPB [Leiden: Brill, 1991], 325-41) but there is little ground to reject the broad outline of his life (see e.g. Rajak, *Josephus*, 27-39; Shaye J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development As a Historian*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 144-51).

148. Louis Feldman, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary, Volume 3: Judean Antiquities, Books 1-4* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), xvii; and Daniel R. Schwartz, "Many Sources but a Single Author: Josephus's Jewish Antiquities," in *A Companion to Josephus*, ed. Honora Howell Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers (Chichester: Wiley, 2016), 36-58.

himself is quite explicit in *AJ* that he primarily wrote it to be an apologetic to the Greeks for the Jewish religion (16.174-8). At the same time it is clear that Josephus writes with the expectation that fellow Jews may form part of the audience at large.

Exactly *what* Josephus was doing in writing *AJ*, and thus his precise purposes for writing has been a matter of significant debate. While some have primarily viewed Josephus as an intermediary of historiographical sources,¹⁴⁹ others have made substantial contributions toward viewing Josephus as an author in his own right, who writes *AJ* with his own literary contribution.¹⁵⁰ Louis Feldman notes Gregory Sterling's important contribution, which argues that *AJ* should be understood as apologetic historiography, seeking "to establish the identity of the [ethnic subgroup] within the setting of the larger world."¹⁵¹ It is not an apologetic directed primarily towards antagonists, but towards an elite set of Hellenistic and Roman sympathizers interested in questions of constitutional, philosophical, and moral nature as they relate to the Jewish people and their history.¹⁵² It is therefore appropriate to view Josephus as an author in his own right who made authorial decisions to convey literary meaning in his narratives that served his own purposes.¹⁵³ Given the volume of material, it is impossible here to do a comprehensive

149.E.g. Seth Schwartz, *Josephus and Judean Politics*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1990).

150.E.g. Harold W. Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus*, HDR 7 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976); and Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). Cf. Daniel R. Schwartz, *Reading the First Century: On Reading Josephus and Studying Jewish History of the First Century*, WUNT 300 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 94-109.

151.Gregory Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), quoted in Feldman, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, xvi.

152.See e.g. *AJ* 1.5-17; Feldman, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, xxii-xxxiv; and Steve Mason, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary, Volume 9: Life of Josephus* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), xix-xxi.

153.See Per Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome*, 94-9; and Daniel Schwartz, "Many Sources but a Single Author."

investigation of the use of clothing in *AJ*, and many of the instances almost certainly carry little or no symbolic weight. Instead we will focus on three significant characters or groups within Josephus' narrative: Moses, Solomon, and the priesthood.

Our investigation leads us first to Josephus' presentation of Moses, who is unsurprisingly a significant figure within *AJ*. As noted above, one of the main themes in *AJ* is the arrangement of laws that comprise the Jewish constitution, and Moses is of course the founder of that constitution as the "great lawgiver" (1.6). Before beginning his account proper, Josephus gives a short discourse on the nature of Moses' person, whose law is the source of the philosophy and constitutional laws that form the moral framework of the Jewish religion. The focus and structure of the law is such that corresponds to "one who would order his own life aright" and who would attain a "right mind" (νοῦς ἀγαθός) and "virtue" (ἀρέτη) (1.19-20). Thus Moses is courageous, humble, noble and long-suffering, and denies indulgence of pleasures (2.229, 290; 3.65, 313; 4.42). Moses is the positive moral ideal for Josephus,¹⁵⁴ as witnessed in the encomium at the end of his life:

He departed ... having surpassed in understanding all men that ever lived and put to noblest use the fruit of his reflections. In speech and in addresses to a crowd he found favor in every way, but chiefly through his thorough command of his passions (πάθη), which was such that he seemed to have no place for them at all in his soul, and only knew their names through seeing them in others rather than in himself. As general he had few equal to him, and as prophet none, insomuch that in all his utterances one seemed to hear the speech of God Himself... Nor was he regretted only by those who had known him by experience, but the very readers of

154. See Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History*, 143-4. Feldman, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, 196, argues that Josephus characterizes Moses as a Stoic-like sage. On Josephus' presentation of Moses' virtues, see Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," *JQR* 82, (1992): 285-328; "Josephus' Portrait of Moses: Part Two," *JQR* 83, (1992): 7-50; "Josephus' Portrait of Moses: Part Three," *JQR* 83, (1993): 301-30; and Paul Spilsbury, *The Image of the Jew In Flavius Josephus' Paraphrase of the Bible*, TSAJ 69 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 94-111.

his laws have sadly felt his loss, deducing from these the superlative quality of his virtue (τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς).¹⁵⁵

His excellence even extends to the stature and beauty characteristic of a hero (2.224-231).

With his programmatic account of Moses' virtues, Josephus does not fail to comment on his clothing. He writes:

Moses, for his part, having declined every honour which he saw that the people were ready to confer on him, devoted himself solely to the service of God. Desisting from further ascents of Sinai, he now entered the tabernacle and there received responses on all that he besought from God; *dressed like any ordinary person* (ἰδιωτεύων καὶ τῇ στολῇ), in all else *he bore himself as a simple commoner* (καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄγων ἑαυτὸν δημοτικώτερον), who desired in nothing to appear different from the crowd, save only in being seen to have their interests at heart.¹⁵⁶

Josephus, in adding an extra-biblical detail, identifies Moses as wearing a στολή specifically. Within *AJ* Josephus often refers to clothing using the generic word ἐσθῆς (used 49 times).¹⁵⁷ The word ἱμάτιον, referring to a common outer garment, is used sixteen times and often in a seemingly generic fashion;¹⁵⁸ and the word χιτῶν (used twelve times),¹⁵⁹ though usually referring to a common type of base garment, is predominantly used by Josephus to refer to specific outer garments worn by the high priest (e.g. 3.153-62). By contrast, Josephus almost always uses the word στολή to refer to the garments of the priests and high priests, similar to the LXX, which often, but less frequently refers to the priests garments using this word. Of the 66 occurrences in *AJ*, it

155. *AJ* 4.329-31. All translations of *AJ* are taken from Thackeray et al., LCL.

156. *AJ* 3.212 (emphasis mine). Also see Philo, *Mos.*, 1.153, who somewhat similarly portrays the ordinary manner of Moses' clothing.

157. *AJ* 5:53, 92; 6:223, 330, 357; 7:1, 4, 40, 154, 156, 177, 204, 267 (2x); 8:169, 183, 186; 9:67, 79; 10:11, 59, 171, 235; 11:50, 141, 221, 231, 234-235, 254, 327, 331; 12:168; 13:84, 124, 146; 14:172; 15:273, 310; 16:287; 17:190; 20:12, 164, 217.

158. *AJ* 2:54, 58; 3:270; 4:269; 6:152, 284, 289; 7:119, 287, 343; 8:207, 353; 9:111; 15:282; 18:169, 204.

159. *AJ* 2:36-37; 3:153, 156, 159, 161-162, 184; 7:171; 8:185; 17:136; 20:6.

refers to women's garments five times and can connote shame if worn by a man.¹⁶⁰ Four times it refers to the garment worn by the Jewish people,¹⁶¹ though always within a specific context, such as a festival celebration or innocent suffering of the people; and it is seen four times on Roman conspirators against the wicked emperor Gaius.¹⁶² Otherwise, there are four instances in which the word refers to royal clothing,¹⁶³ leaving 48 times in which it refers to priestly clothing.¹⁶⁴

The instance of Moses' στολή seems to present itself as its own unique case. On the one hand, Josephus presents the reader with Moses' clothing in close connection with his humility - e.g. "having declined every honour" conferred on him - and his unwavering self-sacrificial service towards God's people. This is clearly marked by his clothing as that which he wears in the manner of an ιδιώτης and δημοτικώτερος.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, specifically *what* he wears is overwhelmingly used by Josephus to refer to the clothing of the priesthood, or sometimes royalty or aristocracy, and at a minimum carries some connotation of honor. Furthermore, the accounting of Moses' clothing is surrounded by the presentation of priestly clothing. Thus Moses' στολή appears to convey both the high quality of his godly virtues in and of itself just as the same priestly clothing is connected to the virtues and splendor of the priesthood he established (see below), and yet the humble manner in which the clothing is worn simply further accentuates his leadership character.¹⁶⁶

160. *AJ* 4.301, 8.266, 13.108, 18.78, 19.30.

161. *AJ* 2.134, 16.14, 18.61 (2x).

162. *AJ* 19.87, 97, 123, 270.

163. *AJ* 11.255, 284; 12.360; 19.344.

164. *AJ* 3:1, 107, 151 (2x), 158, 180, 191, 205, 206, 211, 214, 279 (2x); 4:83, 208; 5:37, 290; 6:115, 359; 8:93 (2x), 412; 9:223; 11:62, 80, 327, 331, 335; 12:116, 117; 13:45, 46; 15:390, 403, 405 (2x), 406, 408; 16:90-93, 95; 20:1, 6, 7, 9, 216.

165. So Feldman, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, 288.

166. Pace Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses: Part Two," 26, who views the clothing as simply

This leads us to the next facet of our investigation, that of the portrayal of the priesthood itself. Given Josephus' priestly background, it is hardly surprising that he should give particular focus to its importance; and as noted above, the Roman Empire paid no small attention to the importance of the emperor's priestly role in his administration of the empire, and his worthiness to carry out that role. Likewise, both the appropriateness, worth, and efficiency of the priesthood, and the character of those who functioned within the priesthood are of fundamental importance for Josephus.¹⁶⁷ As such, he spends a significant amount of space explaining the intricate details of the vestments of the priests (3.151-8) and high priests (3.159-78), among other cultic items, taking pains to not omit any details regarding the significance of their garments (3.214-18). Josephus' reason for this is quite clear as he explains the cosmic significance of the high priests garments as symbolically representing the location where earth and heaven, and thus the presence of God, meet (3.184-87);¹⁶⁸ and to examine the *στολή* of the priests is to "discover that our lawgiver was a man of God" (3.180). But as the clothing signifies the priestly function of the person wearing it, so the character of the one wearing it must align with the clothing. Aaron himself is a "man whose virtues rendered him more deserving than all to obtain [the] dignity" of the priesthood (3.188); and even the private lives of "the wearers of priestly robes" must be "beyond reproach," "spotless, immaculately pure, and sober" (3.279). Such is similarly conveyed by Josephus later in

reflecting Moses' humble status.

167. See Clemens Thoma, "The High Priesthood in the Judgment of Josephus," in *Josephus, the Bible, and History*, ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 196–215, 196; and Michael Tuval, *From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew: On Josephus and the Paradigms of Ancient Judaism*, WUNT 2 357 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 260-70.

168. So Douglas R. Edwards, "The Social, Religious, and Political Aspects of Costume in Josephus," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, *Wisconsin Studies in Classics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 153–62, 157; and similarly Thoma, "The High Priesthood in the Judgment of Josephus," 197-9.

Book Eleven when God reveals to the high priest that in order to save the city from Alexander the Great the people are to adorn themselves in white clothing (λύεσθαι ἐσθήται) and the priests and high priest in the robes prescribed by the law (νομίμοι στολάι), and go out to meet Alexander (11.329). Being met in such a manner, the sight of their clothing causes Alexander to prostrate before the high priest, but not before him as such, but as prostrating before the God who is portrayed through the high priest (11.333-4).

Priestly worth extends beyond the individual, however. For Josephus, the proper function of the priesthood is directly connected to the high priestly lineage established by God, and he chooses to end the narration of the entire *AJ* discussing this issue (20.224-251, cf. 20.261). Furthermore, Josephus punctuates the history leading up to the downfall of Judea with accounts of the deposing and reinstallation of high priests, taking particular note of the practice as carried out by the Judean kings and procurators, beginning with Herod (20.16, 103, 162, 179, 196-7, 203-10, 213-14, 223). The political intrigue involved with the installment of worthless high priests not of good lineage is given heightened focus by Josephus' recounting in 20.224-51, and he makes specific note of Herod's practice of priestly installment (20.247-51). In both the main body of the narrative, and in the closing priestly lineage, Josephus makes explicit the connection between the downfall of the high-priestly lineage and the downfall of Jerusalem in the coming of the wicked procurator Gessius Florus (20.214-15, 252-8). At the end of this historical accounting, Josephus tells of two major things that happen under king Agrippa after the coming of Florus. The second one involves the threat to Solomon's portico, but the first involves violation of the priestly vestments. According to Josephus, the king and the Sanhedrin are persuaded to allow the temple singers to wear linen robes (λινὴ στολή)

on equal terms with the priests (20.216), an act that Josephus notes "was contrary to the ancestral laws, and such transgression was bound to make us liable to punishment." Thus the violation of the priestly clothing code of the nation is closely linked to the nation's demise, and the clothing itself takes on symbolic significance as it signals this demise.¹⁶⁹

This brings us to our third and final instance of clothing in *AJ* for investigation, that of Solomon. As both the builder of the temple and a paradigm sage for Josephus' apologetic,¹⁷⁰ king Solomon is, again unsurprisingly, of notable importance in Josephus' history (cf. e.g. 20.221, 228, 231) - indeed he is of greater importance than David in many ways,¹⁷¹ and the quality of his character is therefore especially prominent in *AJ*.¹⁷² In Josephus' accounting, David himself receives an encomium not unlike that of Moses after three separate exhortations of piety, justice, and wisdom for his son Solomon (7.338, 356, 381-4), which sets up expectations for David's son. In parallel with the biblical account, Josephus marks the beginning of Solomon's reign as gaining supreme wisdom, intelligence, and understanding from God (νοῦς ὑγιής, φρόνησις ἀγαθή, σύνεσις, and σοφία in 8.23-4). Likewise, Josephus tells of Solomon's achievements of wisdom and justice, of administration of State, of surpassing wealth and power displayed by wisdom and prudence in building and outfitting the temple and interceding for the people in a priestly manner, and leading people in the way of righteousness as given in the law of Moses. Such qualities are akin to those presented for Augustus Caesar.¹⁷³ These qualities are

169. Edwards, "Costume in Josephus," 157.

170. See e.g. *C. Ap.* 2.132-6; and Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Solomon," *HUCA* 66 (1995): 103-67, 108-11.

171. Feldman, "Solomon," 104-5.

172. Feldman, "Solomon," 111-140.

173. Likewise Feldman, "Solomon," 131, 149, finds various links to Virgil's *Aeneid*. Feldman also argues that Josephus' portrait of Solomon is Sophoclean in nature, but this particular argument has failed to convince some (e.g. Spilsbury, *The Image of the Jew*, 186-7). The similarities may be useful, however, for noting broad literary motifs common in the Greco-Roman world.

brought to full display through the eyes of the Queen of Sheba in 8.165-186, and the honor and wealth that she bestows on Solomon and his kingdom in response, and the resulting renown.

It is at this point in the narrative that Solomon's own garb is presented by Josephus, whose presentation is far from static, but rather is embedded in a recounting of how Solomon and his horses and chariots used to ride around on display for all to see. Solomon himself is seen riding in a chariot "clothed in a white garment" (λευκὴν ἡμφιεσμένος ἐσθῆτα, 8.186), but the picture extends beyond Solomon to the riders who surround him who "were dressed in tunics of Tyrian purple (ἐνδεδυμένοι χιτῶνας τῆς Τυρίας πορφύρας) [a]nd every day they sprinkled their hair with gold dust so that their heads sparkled as the gleam of gold was reflected by the sun" (8.185). The riders themselves are unnamed, leaving the reader with Solomon in sole focus clothed in white at the center of a glorious array of gleaming gold and royal purple. Solomon's clothing is itself unspecific (ἐσθῆς), but the color λευκός is notable as symbolic of purity and virtue. As noted above, Josephus does not appear to have a special usage for the word χιτῶν, but the χιτῶν was the most basic piece of standard clothing and, as noted in Chapter 2, it was often a neutral color with dyed colored stripes in the first-century world. But the more expensive ones could be dyed solid colors, and that seems to be the picture of Solomon's riders. They are dressed in solid purple tunics, and specifically Tyrian purple, which was the most expensive purple dye and considered to be the richest and most royal in hue. Thus the reader is left with the vivid clothing imagery portraying the majesty and glory of Solomon as the culmination of the display of his supreme wisdom and virtue.

It is only after this display of Solomon in clothing symbolizing his greatness, that Josephus suddenly turns to the account of Solomon's fall from glory.¹⁷⁴ In particular, "he became madly enamoured of women and indulged in excesses of passion" (8.191), which in turn resulted in idolatry as foreseen by Moses, from which other disasters followed. In Josephus' analysis of Solomon, "though he had a most excellent and near example of virtue in his father ... he did not imitate him ... and so he died ingloriously" (8.196). Thus Josephus uses his portrayal of Solomon's clothing at the very climax of his narrative in order to heighten the tragedy of his downfall and the tragically ironic twist of his life.

Like Virgil and Suetonius, Josephus uses clothing in his narratives to signify meaning beyond the mere material referent. The clothing of Moses, Solomon, and the priests corresponds both with the quality of their virtues and character and how these virtues correspond with their life functions or actions. Their clothing provides a visual representation of their virtues, functions, and actions. Furthermore, this symbolic function of clothing is seen to be used at times to carry literary meaning, carrying a semantic value by following pivotal points in the story being told. Though the case of Moses' clothing is uncertain in this regard, it is integrated with the priestly clothing material in Josephus. Solomon's clothing carries a form of literary climax before the tragic twist of his fall, and the violation of priestly clothing marks the decline and fall of the nation.

3.5 Summary and Conclusion

Our investigation of Virgil, Suetonius, and Josephus has demonstrated a rather ubiquitous presence of the symbolic use of clothing in their writings. In each of these writings we have seen how character portrayal through clothing is closely aligned with

174. Feldman, "Solomon," 155-6.

the presence of values and virtues in those characters. In both Virgil and Suetonius there is a strong link between the portrayal of characters through their clothing and the presence and absence of Roman virtues in those characters. Although Josephus isn't concerned with *Roman* virtues as such, character qualities, especially ones that connect with his larger apologetic project within a Greco-Roman milieu, are similarly linked with clothing for characters that are critical to his narrative. For Virgil, these virtues are inextricably bound to that which is ethnically "Roman." This is also true for Suetonius who, although he is more solely focused on the emperors alone, still has the "Roman-ness" of their personal characters ultimately in view as exemplars for the Roman people. Inasmuch as Moses and the priesthood provide defining Jewish boundaries for Josephus, and Solomon provides boundaries for the Jewish rulership, clothing symbolism is also integrated into ethnic boundaries as part of Josephus' larger apologetic purposes. To be properly Jewish is to follow in the virtuous footsteps of Moses, and to have a functioning priesthood organized in accordance with Moses' law and the boundaries of virtue established therein. So Josephus ties clothing symbolism into the function of the Jewish state.

Furthermore, we have seen how, within their respectively literary works, each author uses clothing symbolism at particular moments in their narratives to mark or carry the plot and in doing so vividly heighten the symbolism to integrate it into the larger story and thus speak to at least some of the primary purposes for writing their narratives. Virgil's story ultimately uses clothing to connect the hero and his ethnic virtues to his establishment of power and the right to Roman hegemony. For Suetonius, the rise and fall of the Julio-Claudian dynasty is similarly linked with clothing. Lastly, Josephus' symbolic

use of clothing is linked to the height of Jewish rulership in Solomon, and the final decline of the priesthood and state before the AD 70 temple destruction. In all three authors, clothing is used to symbolize personal character, ethnic boundaries to a degree, and ruling power.

Chapter 4

Clothing Symbolism in the Gospel of Luke

4.1 Introduction

Author, Date, Location, Audience

Although the Gospel of Luke is formally anonymous, that anonymity need not deter us from considering it most reasonable that Luke the companion of Paul is its author.¹ For purposes of our analysis, the precise identity of the author is less important than whether he was Jewish or Gentile. Though it has often been argued that he was of Gentile ethnicity, there are a number of good indicators that he was a Hellenistic Jew, similar to his companion Paul,² enabling him to operate well in both Jewish and Hellenistic cultural spheres, not too unlike Josephus. A considerable range of dates have been proposed for the writing of Luke and Acts, but most scholars place it somewhere in the latter half of the first century AD.³ It was therefore written before Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, but probably not by more than a few decades, and is sandwiched between

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1. On anonymity, see Armin D. Baum, "The Anonymity of the New Testament History Books: A Stylistic Device in the Context of Greco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Literature," *Novum Testamentum* 50, no. 2 (2008): 120–42. On Lukan authorship, see Joseph Fitzmyer's evaluation of the evidence in *The Gospel According to Luke I*, AB 28 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1982), 35–42. Cf. John Nolland, *Luke I*, WBC 35A (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), xxxiv–xxxvii; Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary*, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 1:402–14; and I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian & Theologian*, 3rd edition (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 1998), 53–76.
 2. These include Luke's knowledge and use of the LXX, his ability to work with a complex array of Israel's historical narratives, and his interest in intimate Jewish cultural details. See Michael Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, HNT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 9–10; C. K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 2 vols., ICC (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 1994), 2:xlvi; E. Earle Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke* (London: Nelson, 1966), 51–3. There is also evidence that Luke's literary work has closer affinity with Jewish historiography: Samson Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography: A Study on the Theology, Literature, and Ideology of Luke-Acts*, WUNT 2 366 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).
 3. See the various dates given by Francois Bovon, *Luke I*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 9; C. F. Evans, *Saint Luke*, TPINTC (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), 15. Fitzmyer, *Luke I*, 53–57; Nolland, *Luke I*, xxxvii–xxxix. Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 10.

Virgil and Suetonius. The provenance of Luke's gospel is traditionally located in Syrian Antioch, but other cities have been suggested, all of which point to the high probability that Luke was comfortable operating within a cosmopolitan setting, not too unlike Josephus, in which he regularly encountered Greco-Roman world-views.⁴ Luke's patron Theophilus, for whom the work was written, was most likely Jewish, but the larger audience of Luke's concern most likely comprised a mixture of Jewish and Gentile Christians.⁵

Approaching Clothing Symbolism in the Gospel of Luke

As stated in Chapter Two, approaching symbolism in the Gospel of Luke in accordance with Paul Ricoeur's theory requires attention to the literary world constructed by the author into which he expects his readers to enter, through which the events he writes about are to be interpreted. This first requires consideration of the major discourse markers Luke uses to frame his narrative. As has been argued, geography plays a major role in Luke's gospel. In the analysis by Douglas McComiskey, the geographical movement found at 4:14, 9:51, 13:22, and 19:28 set the basic framework with the phrase εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν followed by three instances of the phrase εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ/ Ἱεροσόλυμα set within a highlighted construction and 'spoken' by the narrator as opposed to a character.⁶

This yields the following overall structure:

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4. See James R. Edwards, *The Gospel According to Luke*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 12-13; and Nolland, *Luke I*, xxxix. Other suggested cities include Rome, Philippi, Ephesus, Corinth, and Caesarea.
 5. See Loveday Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1.1-4 and Acts 1.1*, SNTSMS 78 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 133, who points out that the name Theophilus was very commonly used by Hellenistic Jews; and Barbara Shellard, *New Light on Luke: Its Purpose, Sources, and Literary Context*, JSNTSup 215 (London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 36-55.
 6. See Douglas S. McComiskey, *Lukan Theology in the Light of the Gospel's Literary Structure*, Paternoster Biblical Monographs (Waynesboro: Paternoster, 2004), 206, 228-9, 234-5.

1:1-4 - Preface

1:5-4:13 - Introduction

4:14-9:50 - Cycle 1: Jesus in Galilee

9:51-19:27 - Cycles 2 and 3: Jesus' "Exodus" to Jerusalem

9:51-13:21 - Cycle 2

13:22-19:27 - Cycle 3

19:28-24:53 - Cycle 4: Jesus' Passion and Resurrection in Jerusalem

Unlike McComiskey, I retain the body of Luke's narrative in 9:51-19:27 as one major section, as many commentators do,⁷ given that they both comprise Jesus' journey to Jerusalem, whereas 19:28 signals his arrival.⁸ This geographical movement is anticipated at Jesus' birth (2:4), and may be reflected in the reference to Herod in 23:6-7. In addition, it is notable that the entire gospel narrative begins and ends in Jerusalem, and is framed by the specific location of the temple (1:8-9, 24:53).⁹

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7. E.g. Bovon, *Luke 1*, 2-3; Fitzmyer, *Luke 1*, 138-40. Almost all commentators recognize a break at 9:51. Exactly where the central section ends is debatable. I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978); and Robert Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), end it at 19:10; Charles H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, SBLMS 20 (Cambridge: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974); Darrell L. Bock, *Luke*, 2 vols., BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1996); and Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), end it at 19:44, 46, or 48 - also see David P. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1989), 33-34 n.3; still others end it somewhere in chapter 18. Against ending after 19:44, it seems most logical to consider Jesus having "arrived" at Jerusalem with the arrival scene and not after. My analysis doesn't really depend on exactly where this section ends, however, The purpose here is to draw the broad outline of Luke.
 8. Preserving these two sections as one unit accords with the chiastic structure of the unit as identified by some. See Kenneth E. Bailey, *Poet and Peasant: A Literary-Cultural Approach to the Parables in Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 79-85; and Michael D. Goulder, "The Chiastic Structure of the Lukan Journey," *SE 2* (1964): 195-202. See Craig L. Blomberg, "Midrash, Chiasmus, and the Outline of Luke's Central Section," in *Gospel Perspectives: Studies in Midrash and Historiography*, ed. R. T. France and David Wenham, vol. 3 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 217-62, for an alternate arrangement.
 9. Charles H. H. Scobie, "A Canonical Approach to Interpreting Luke: The Journey Motif as a Hermeneutical Key," in *Reading Luke: Interpretation, Reflection, Formation*, ed. Craig G. Bartholomew, Joel B. Green, and Anthony C. Thiselton, *The Scripture and Hermeneutics Series 6* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005), 327-49, 332.

With attention to the primary structural elements, one must attend to other features that Luke uses to signal and draw the reader into his literary world. It's important to note that for our analysis, the particular genre of Luke, whether history, biography, epic, etc., has no significant bearing, not least because elements of all of these genres can be found in Luke's gospel, but also because, as Chapter 3 demonstrates, literary symbolic uses of clothing is found across the genre spectrum. Sensitivity to reading the literary cues found in the narrative is necessary above all. Yet in addition to this, one must note that Luke does not simply create his own literary world. His narrative repeatedly signals to the reader that it is operating within, and extending from, the vast world of OT literature.¹⁰ This is demonstrated in part by Gregory Sterling's argument that Luke's project was one of extending the text of the LXX.¹¹ To read Luke's narrative is to read how he is reading and interpreting the Scriptures with which he is intimately familiar, and with which he expects his audience to be or become familiar.

Generally, then, with Tannehill, Moessner, and others, our task is to read Luke's ordered narrative (διήγησις, ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς; Luke 1:1, 3) as a complete whole in order to understand the framework within which Luke is utilizing symbolism.¹² Thus we will focus primarily on Luke's narrative and how it signals meaning as a complete whole. At

10. François Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 2nd edition (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), *Luke the Theologian*, 90, calls Luke's narrative "deeply saturated" with the OT.

11. Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography*, NovTSup 64 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 352-363.

12. Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*; Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet*. Also see Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, 5-8; Anthony C. Thiselton, "The Hermeneutical Dynamics of 'Reading Luke' as Interpretation, Reflection and Formation," in *Reading Luke: Interpretation, Reflection, Formation*, ed. Craig G. Bartholomew, Joel B. Green, and Anthony C. Thiselton, The Scripture and Hermeneutics Series 6 (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005), 3-54, 12-16; and David P. Moessner, "Reading Luke's Gospel as Ancient Hellenistic Narrative: Luke's Narrative Plan of Israel's Suffering Messiah as God's Saving 'Plan' for the World," in *Reading Luke: Interpretation, Reflection, Formation*, ed. Craig G. Bartholomew, Joel B. Green, and Anthony C. Thiselton, The Scripture and Hermeneutics Series 6 (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005), 125-56.

times, however, it is also illuminating to compare Luke with the other Synoptic writers. Given that there is significant agreement that Luke used Mark, we will assume Markan priority.¹³ That Luke purposely incorporated Matthew's material is less certain,¹⁴ so Matthew's gospel will not be assumed to have been known by Luke, although comparisons with his gospel may be illuminating. Our approach to the material begins with investigating clothing symbolism as Jesus, the main character and hero of the narrative, is portrayed. Then we will investigate the material related to how other characters are portrayed through clothing. For both Jesus and others, our analysis is concerned with how Luke's narrative explicitly portrays characters.¹⁵ Finally we will consider the case of John the Baptist, to whose clothing Luke omits any reference, thereby removing the clothing reference in Mark, which Matthew finds suitable to use.

4.2 Jesus' Clothing and Symbolism

There are three particular locations where Luke focuses the audience's attention on Jesus' clothing: his birth in 2:7, 12; the transfiguration in 9:28-36; and the passion and crucifixion in chapter 23. Each of these texts are located at major moments in the life of Jesus as presented by Luke, and we will focus on each text individually before analyzing them as a whole. Focus on an element of Jesus' clothing is also found in 8:44 as the

13. See Sterling, *Historiography*, 350-2; Nolland, *Luke I*, xxviii-xxxi. Though see Michael D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, vol. 1, 2 vols., JSNTSup 20 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1989), 27-146.

14. So I. Howard Marshall, "Luke and His 'Gospel,'" in *The Gospel and the Gospels*, ed. Peter Stuhlmacher (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 273-92, 277; though see Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*; and Francis Watson, *Gospel Writing: A Canonical Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013).

15. Space constraints prohibit an analysis of all references to clothing in Luke's gospel, which occur about 30 times, depending on how one may categorize the texts: 2:7, 12; 3:11, 16; 5:36; 6:29; 7:25; 8:35, 44; 9:3, 29; 10:4, 13, 30; 11:22; 12:22-31; 12:35, 37; 15:22; 16:19-20; 17:7-9; 19:35-36; 20:46; 22:35-37; 23:11, 34; 24:4, 49; and perhaps 23:53 and 24:12. In any case, some clothing references are likely not symbolic.

object of healing power. The linen shrouds in which Jesus' body is wrapped could theoretically be viewed as clothing, but this is quite uncertain since they are used as wrappings for a corpse, not a living body. Luke 23:53 and 24:12 will therefore be excluded from our analysis.

Luke 2:7, 12 - Swaddling Cloths

After describing the account of John the Baptist's birth, Mary's visitation, and the prophecies that frame reader expectations for the roles of John and Jesus, Luke spends the second half of the first section of his introduction giving an account of the birth (2:1-21) and youth (2:22-52) of Jesus. He signals a shift in focus to Jesus' birth by giving a time reference to Caesar Augustus' decree of registration (2:1). This decree causes geographical movement of Joseph and Mary from Galilee to the Davidic city of Bethlehem (2:4-5). This in turn causes Jesus to be born in Bethlehem just like his forefather king David. It is precisely when Jesus is born that his birth clothing and location are noted by Luke: Mary "wrapped him in bands of cloth (ἐσπαργάνωσεν), and laid him in a manger" (2:7).¹⁶ This detail receives a certain emphasis by virtue of repetition in the following account of the angels appearing to the shepherds (2:8-14). The angels bring "good news" that a σωτήρ is born in David's city, whose identity is further explained as χριστὸς κύριος (v. 11). Then the angel notes, in an analepsis from v. 7, the sign that demonstrates this has happened: εὐρήσετε βρέφος ἐσπαργανωμένον καὶ κείμενον ἐν φάτνῃ.

There have been different understandings of the significance of the verb σπαργάνω. In Antiquity, Roman, Jewish, or otherwise, it was standard practice to wrap a

16. All biblical (including the Apocrypha) translations are NRSV unless noted otherwise.

child in swaddling cloths (σπάργανα, Latin: *incunabula*), which were made of narrow strips of wool or a cloth sheet tied with strips, after the umbilical cord was cut.¹⁷ This was understood by standard medicine to be good practice for the straight development of body and limbs, and Greek and Roman votive statuettes of babies in swaddling clothes are ubiquitous.¹⁸ For Luke it seems the significance of the swaddling of Jesus is closely connected in the text to the fact that he was laid in a "manger" (φάτνη) since there was no room for the family in the καταλύμα. While this word is traditionally translated as "inn," a survey of the occurrences in Luke and elsewhere, including the cognate verb, and consideration of the standard housing situation of those who were not wealthy, indicates that it simply refers to a guest room or some place where a traveller would normally be housed.¹⁹ Since a φάτνη clearly refers to an animal feeding trough,²⁰ some scholars have viewed this text as suggesting that Jesus was located in a stable or at least an animal room of some sort, and that therefore the text is referring to the extremely humble conditions of his birth outside of normal human conditions.²¹ Kenneth Bailey, however, has argued that this text simply assumes the normal layout of an average Palestinian home, leaving us with the image that the guest room was full, so that the manger - i.e. the stone hole in the floor of the family room - filled with straw was considered a suitable place for laying a newborn. Jesus and his parents were not left to the animals, which would be unacceptably

17. See S. Safrai, "Home and Family," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern, 2 vols., CRINT (Assen/Amsterdam: van Gorcum, 1976), 728-92, 2.766; and Alexandra Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000), 142-3. Cf. Marshall, *Luke*, 106; and Ezek 16:4.

18. See Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), 184, s.v. "Swaddling;" and Rolf Hurschmann, "Swaddling Clothes," BNP, 13:972.

19. See Kenneth E. Bailey, *Jesus Through Middle Eastern Eyes: Cultural Studies in the Gospels* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2008), 25-37; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 126; Green, *Luke*, 128; cf. Luke 22:11 and the verbal cognate at Luke 9:12 and 19:7.

20. Martin Hengel, "φάτνη," TDNT, 9:49-55.

21. Bock, *Luke*, 1.208-9.

dishonorable in Middle Eastern culture, but located in the room where the household ate and slept.²² This suggests that the text is referring specifically to Jesus' humble human beginnings. Luke's use of Jesus' clothing portrays him as entering this world in a fully and intimately human way, giving human balance to the high claim of divine conception in 1:35.²³

This humility is set in stark contrast to the royal terms of σωτήρ and χριστός κύριος that refer to Jesus in 2:11.²⁴ Jesus' royal status as David's son has been clearly set up by Luke already (1:32-33, 69; cf. 3:31). The royal motif signaled in 2:1-14 may be echoing Wisdom 7:1-5: "I also am a mortal (θνητός), like everyone else, a descendent of the first-formed child of earth ... And when I was born ... I was nursed with care in swaddling cloths (σπαργάνοις). No king has had a different beginning of existence." This connection is made more likely by René Laurentin's analysis showing considerable verbal correlation between Luke 2:1-14 and Micah 4:7-5:5 (LXX).²⁵ Not only do both texts refer to Bethlehem in Judea/Judah, but the subject regards the promised Davidic ruler who will arrive with the giving of birth of daughter Zion in labor (Mic 4:10), be shepherd over his

22. See Bailey, *Jesus Through Middle Eastern Eyes*, 28-36; likewise, Walter Schmithals, "Die Weihnachtsgeschichte Lukas 2,1-20," in *Festschrift Für Ernst Fuchs*, ed. Gerhard Ebeling, Eberhard Jüngel, and Gerd Schunack (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1973), 283.

23. So also Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 125-6.

24. On the royal Davidic usage of the appellation χριστός κύριος see C. Kavin Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology: The Lord in the Gospel of Luke*, BZNW 139 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 52-4, who notes how the phrase χριστός κυρίου occurs throughout the 1-2 Samuel narrative, always referring to Saul or David.

25. René Laurentin, *Struktur Und Theologie Der Lukanischen Kindheitsgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1967), 99-102. Cf. Green, *Luke*, 127, 135; and David W. Pao and Eckhard J. Schnabel, "Luke," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. D. A. Carson and G. K. Beale (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 251-414, 267. Dietrich Rusam, *Das Alte Testament Bei Lukas*, BZNW 112 (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2003), 76 considers there is a plausible connection to PsSol 17:3 given that the phrase χριστός κύριος is rather unique. He also notes the connection to Song Sol. 4:20. This common thread of references to Solomon, David's son, increases the likelihood that the Wisdom text may be in view given the uniqueness of the reference to σπαργάνα; the word occurs elsewhere in biblical and apocryphal texts only in Ezek 16:4.

people, and bring peace (Mic 5:4; Luke 2:11). Furthermore, although 'shepherd' can simply be a metaphor for king, in David's case literal shepherding is part of his humble origins.²⁶ Therefore, just as Wisdom 7 speaks of the swaddling cloths of David's son in royal humility, so also the swaddling cloths in Luke have Davidic Messianic overtones as part of the angel's sign that a *χριστὸς κύριος* had been born in the city of David, along with the array of other royal signals. Thus his birth clothing not only symbolizes the humble human origins of the one conceived by the Spirit, but it also likely symbolizes his humble but royal origins.²⁷

Luke 9:28-36 - The Transfiguration

We turn now to investigate Jesus' clothing at his transfiguration in Luke 9:28-36. Luke begins the transfiguration episode with a specific temporal link of "about eight days" between vv. 23-27 and vv. 28-36, and the scene is set by Jesus taking Peter, James, and John with him on the mountain to pray (v. 28). Luke describes the transfiguration of Jesus while talking to the Father: "the appearance of his face changed, and his clothes became dazzling white" (τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἕτερον καὶ ὁ ἱματισμὸς αὐτοῦ λευκὸς ἐξαστράπτων). Luke refers to Jesus' clothing here as simply ἱματισμός. Related to the word ἱμάτιον, which was simply a general term for clothing earlier in antiquity, it retained this generic meaning and so is unspecific.²⁸ It is probably unspecific to aid in drawing attention to Luke's two descriptors of the clothing: it is "white" (λευκός), and it is "flashing forth," radiant, or dazzling (ἐξαστράπτω). Elsewhere, Luke himself uses the

26. Although Jesus is not actually portrayed as a shepherd here, he is "guilty by association," and the imagery of actual shepherds giving homage to the "shepherd" is not to be missed.

27. Likewise Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology*, 76-7 finds Luke's use of *κύριος* operating in both divine and human senses in chapters 1-3.

28. See Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress*, 92.

cognate verb ἀστράπτω in describing angels' clothing (24:4), which is not unlike the LXX usage of ἐξαστράπτω in describing the clothing of heavenly beings (Ezek 1:4, 7; Dan 10:6).²⁹ More unique is the word λευκός in describing the clothing of a specific individual as it is used only once in the LXX, found in Daniel's vision of the Ancient of Days sitting in judgment (7:9) in which his clothing is described as ὥσει ἔριον λευκὸν καθαρὸν.³⁰ Luke's angels at the beginning of Acts are wearing ἐσθῆται λευκαί, but only here in Luke 9:29 is anyone's clothing described using both λευκός and ἐξαστράπτω. As such, the combination of the two words appear to be a fitting way of correlating the vision of Jesus' revealed identity here with that of Daniel's vision of the Ancient of Days. This connection is made more probable given that 1) the "Son of Man" (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) phrase is used in v. 26 (cf. Dan 7:13-14); 2) this phrase is used to refer to him coming "in his glory (δόξα) and the glory of the Father and of the holy angels," thereby making an explicit link between the glory of the Son of Man and the Father; 3) focus on Jesus' glory continues with the transfiguration episode as Peter wakes up and watches (v. 32); and 4) the cloud (νεφέλη) that appears during the transfiguration combines with the details to evoke the image of Daniel's "son of man" who comes on the clouds to the Ancient of Days and receives authority (ἐξουσία) over all things (7:13-14).³¹

Further consideration of the clothing symbolism active in this episode begins by

29. Occurring in the LXX elsewhere only in Nahum 3:3, describing the horsemen of judgment against Nineveh.

30. So also Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 352. Cf. Mark 9:3: τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο στίλβοντα λευκὰ λίαν, ὥτα γναφεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται οὕτως λευκᾶναι.

31. See Christoph G. Müller, "Kleidung als Element der Charakterzeichnung im Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt: Ein Streifzug durch das lukanische Erzählwerk," *SNTSU* 28 (2003), 210, n. 108. A possible link to Daniel 7 is recognized by Ellis, *Luke*, 142. John Nolland, *Luke II*, WBC 35B (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1993), 498, notes similarities with Jewish apocalyptic texts, but not Daniel 7.

noting the episode's placement within the larger narrative. After the introduction (1:5-4:13), Luke sets the first section of his account of Jesus in 4:14 geographically: ὑπέστρεψεν ... εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. Transition to the following section is likewise marked by another geographical movement in 9:51 when Jesus "set his face to go to Jerusalem (εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ).³² The first episode of this section (4:16-30) explicitly focuses on Jesus' relationship to the Lord's anointed of Isaiah 61, quoting vv. 1-2 of that chapter, and follows with references the Elijah-Elisha narratives. In what follows, there are numerous episodes that are punctuated with demonstrations of Jesus' power (δύναμις) and authority (ἐξουσία) (4:31-7:50),³³ followed by the need to obey God's word (8:1-21) and have faith in his power and authority (8:22-25), and two episodes of healing that have eschatological dimensions (8:26-39, 8:40-56).³⁴ With chapter 9 comes the beginning of the establishment of God's kingdom beyond the sole human person of Jesus. For the first time, the disciples are explicitly sent with the delegated power and authority of Jesus in order "to proclaim the kingdom (βασιλείαν) of God and to heal" (9:2), just as Jesus had been doing since chapter 4. This kingdom theme as it relates to the disciples occurs three times before the transfiguration scene (9:1-6, 10-17, 23-27), and is the final note in v. 27 before Luke turns to the transfiguration episode. Interwoven with this is renewed focus on Jesus' identity, especially as it relates to Elijah (9:7-9, 18-20), and the first explicit references in Luke to Jesus' impending crucifixion suffering (9:21-22, 23-27).³⁵ This

32. There is practically a consensus that 9:51 marks a new literary section. There is large agreement that the first major section should begin at 4:14-15 (e.g. Green, *Luke*, 197-203). For recent research on the structure of Luke's gospel, see McComiskey, *Lukan Theology*. Also see Talbert, *Literary Patterns*; and Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*.

33. Cf. e.g. 4:14-15, 32, 36; 5:17, 24; 6:19; 7:8. See McComiskey, *Lukan Theology*, 204-69.

34. The eschatological dimensions may be noted in the demons going down to the abyss in 8:31, and the resurrection event of Jairus' daughter in 8:55.

35. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Composition of Luke, Chapter 9," in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, ed.

section is completed by an episode that uniquely focuses on the "majesty" (μεγαλειότης) of God (9:37-43a, see v. 43a), which in using such wording appears to uniquely correlate with the transfiguration,³⁶ followed by Jesus foretelling of his death (9:43b-45) and two short episodes on the nature of discipleship (9:46-48, 49-50). Thus the transfiguration is framed in 9:1-50 by kingdom discipleship and more closely framed by an outlook towards his suffering and death.³⁷ Furthermore, the themes of Jesus' identity in relation to Elijah, Jesus' death, and, as we shall later show, the anointed one of Isa 61, connects closely with 4:16-30,³⁸ creating a form of inclusio between chapters 4 and 9. The theme of discipleship is also begun here, linked closely with these other themes, and spearheads the next section (e.g. 9:52-10:42). Functioning as the focal point of the closing of the first section, and therefore as the major scene before the transition to the main body of the text in 9:51-19:27, the transfiguration episode is pivotal for Luke's narrative.

The symbolism of Jesus' clothing intended by Luke here must also account for links with other biblical characters that are being made in this passage within the narrative framework sketched above. There appear to be links with three characters in particular: Moses, Elijah, and David, the first two of whom are explicitly signaled by their appearance next to the transfigured Jesus (v. 30). Consideration will first be given to the figure of Moses, followed by Elijah and then David, before considering the bearing each of these figures have on the clothing symbolism.

Charles H. Talbert, PRSt 5 (Danville: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978), 139–52.

36. Fitzmyer, *Luke I*, 810.

37. On the structure of chapter 9, showing vv. 28-36 as central, see Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet*, 69-70.

38. Peter Mallen, *The Reading and Transformation of Isaiah in Luke-Acts*, LNTS 367 (London: T & T Clark, 2008), 128-31, 173-9, shows how, in Luke's program of transforming Isaiah, there is a strong connection between the quotation of Isa 61:1-2 in Luke 4:18-19 as paradigmatic for Jesus' mission, and the question of Jesus' identity in Luke 9. This is strengthened by the allusion to Isa 42:1 in 9:35 as God refers to Jesus as ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος.

David Moessner has cogently argued that the entire central section of Luke (9:51-19:44) portrays Jesus as the "prophet like Moses" of Deut 18:15-19 in his Moses-like journey to Jerusalem, which is explicitly signaled by Moses and Elijah speaking of his ἔξοδος in 9:31 (cf. Acts 3:22, 7:37).³⁹ So then 9:1-50, Moessner argues, is a preview of this journey. Among the Synoptists, only Luke mentions that his transfiguration took place while Jesus was praying, just like Moses spoke directly with God (cf. Deut 34:10). The setting is on a mountain, and only Luke portrays all three men "in glory," likely alluding to the fiery theophany on Mt. Horeb, which Deut 5:23-24 explicitly describes as ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ.⁴⁰ After Peter mistakenly suggests that three tents be erected for the three men standing in glory, a cloud overshadows them (νεφέλη ... ἐπεσκίαζεν), they respond in fear (ἐφοβήθησαν), and the voice (φωνή) of God sounds forth (vv. 34-35). This parallels the revelation of God at Mt. Horeb (Exod 19:16-20), whose voice Moses insists must be heard and obeyed (Deut 5:25). Likewise the voice in Luke 9:35 demands a listening obedience (αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε) in wording almost identical to the prophet-like-Moses in Deut 18:15.⁴¹ As Moessner states, "Like Moses, Jesus is called to mediate the voice of God."⁴² I would add that it's possible that Luke uses the word ἐξαστράπτω to create another link with the lightnings (ἀστραπαί) in the Sinai theophany in Exod 19:16ff.

But Jesus is presented here as more than Moses as well. This constellation of signals to the figure of Moses strongly suggests that the phrase τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου

39. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet*.

40. MT: אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ וְאֶת־גְּלוֹיָו.

41. Likewise, Bock, *Luke*, 1.874. Bock also notes the prompting of Peter to celebrate the Feast of Booths in response to the vision.

42. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet*, 61; see 60-79 for his full argument. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke I*, 803

αὐτοῦ ἔτερον in v. 29 links to the transformation of Moses' face in Exod 34:29-35 as it reflected the shining glory of God.⁴³ But nothing is ever mentioned about Moses' clothing in the canonical OT texts, whereas Luke, like Matthew and unlike Mark, takes an extra step to mention both Jesus' face and his clothing, suggesting a significant discontinuity between the two figures that would be consistent with Luke's care to present Jesus' clothing here as uniquely that of the Ancient of Days. Along these lines, the glory of God is relocated with respect to the person of Jesus compared to the person of Moses. After Peter's suggestion of making three tents, the scene depicts Peter, James, and John in the midst of the divine cloud that is present with Jesus' glory in a way that only parallels God's presence on Mt. Horeb, the Tabernacle, and the Temple.⁴⁴ James Edwards also notes Luke's peculiar introduction to this episode as taking place "about eight days later" compared with Matthew's and Mark's six days. Luke is particularly fond of the number eight, which has particular cultic relevance in circumcision and the waiting period for a cleansed leper to sacrifice in the temple (Lev 14:10), as well as prominent usage in the vision of the new temple in Ezek 40ff.⁴⁵ This would reinforce the tabernacle/temple imagery portrayed here through the transformation of Jesus' clothing.

At the same time, the figure of Elijah is portrayed alongside Moses. As mentioned above, the figure of Elijah has been repeatedly referenced in the text prior to this point, being a significant part of Luke's framework for the transfiguration episode. In addition

43. So also Bovon, *Luke 1*, 375. Pace Fitzmyer, *Luke 1*, 799, who only views this in terms of the verbal correlation of this phrase. Mere verbal correlation is not sufficient on its own, but it is highly suggestive when seen in light of the constellation of signals Luke has used to construct his audience framework. Bovon also makes a connection between Jesus' clothing imagery and the Adamic pre-Fall clothing in Rab. Gen. 20.12, Pirke R. El. 14-20, and Apoc. Mos. 20-21.

44. See Fitzmyer, *Luke 1*, 802. Cf. Exod 19:16-18, 24:15-18, 40:34-35; 1 Kings 8:10-11.

45. Edwards, *Luke*, 279-80. Similarly Bovon, *Luke 1*, 374, "The eighth day, the day after the week, the resurrection, the new creation, or eternal rest could all be described eschatologically with this number."

to this, Thomas Brodie has argued that the Elijah-Elisha narrative (EEN) of 1 Kings 17 to 2 Kings 13 provided a significant literary map and source for Luke's episodes in 7:1-8:3, 9:51-10:20, and a number of other texts in his gospel and in Acts.⁴⁶ While Brodie's work has received some criticism, it is generally considered to have established that the EEN played a significant role in Luke's narrative.⁴⁷ In turn, Brodie, followed by Kenneth Litwak, has shown how the death/ascension of Jesus in Luke 22-Acts 2 draws upon the ascent of Elijah in 2 Kings 2:7-15.⁴⁸ Likewise, Luke's narrative turns its focus to this ascent (ἀναλήμψις) in 9:51 right after the transfiguration episode and the surrounding focus on his impending death and suffering. This is followed immediately by the text of 9:52-62, which has clear allusions to the EEN events of 1 Kings 19 and 2 Kings 1-2, such as the calling down of destructive fire in Samaria and followers associated with plowing.⁴⁹ Furthermore, this cluster of allusions is probably connected with the geographical location of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, the location of Israel's northern kingdom where Elijah ministered.

46. Thomas L. Brodie, *Luke the Literary Interpreter: Luke-Acts as a Systematic Rewriting and Updating of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative in 1 and 2 Kings* (STD diss., Rome: Pontifical University of St. Thomas Aquinas, 1988). Also see Brodie, "Luke's Use of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative," in *The Elijah-Elisha Narrative in the Composition of Luke*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Joseph Verheyden, LNTS 493 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), 6-29; "Luke 7,36-50 as an Internalization of 2 Kings 4,1-37: A Study in Luke's Use of Rhetorical Imitation," *Biblica* 64, no. 4 (1983): 457-85, and "The Departure for Jerusalem (Luke 9,51-56) as a Rhetorical Imitation of Elijah's Departure for the Jordan (2 Kgs 1,1-2,6)," *Biblica* 70, no. 1 (1989): 96-109.

47. See debate between Brodie, Robert Derrenbacker Jr., and David Peabody in *The Elijah-Elisha Narrative in the Composition of Luke*. Also see e.g. Craig A. Evans, "The Function of the Elijah/Elisha Narratives in Luke's Ethic of Election," in *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 1989), 70-83; and Alexander Damm, "A Rhetorical-Critical Assessment of Luke's Use of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative," in *The Elijah-Elisha Narrative in the Composition of Luke*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Joseph Verheyden, LNTS 493 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), 88-112.

48. Brodie, *Luke the Literary Interpreter*, 254-69; Kenneth D. Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts: Telling the History of God's People Intertextually*, JSNTSup 282 (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 116-155.

49. Again see Brodie, "Luke's Use of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative," 17-28. This is the only occurrence of ἀναλήμψις in the NT.

Given the critical role Elijah's ascent plays for Luke narrative of Jesus' ascent, and the fact that the figure of Elijah is so central to chapter 9 of Luke, consideration needs to be given to the possibility of Jesus' transformed clothing alluding to the cloak of Elijah that is transferred to Elisha at his ascent. In the account, the power of God given to Elijah is bound up in the cloak as he strikes the water of the Jordan causing it to part in a manner that alludes to Moses' striking of the Red Sea (2 Kings 2:8). In the next verse Elisha asks for a double portion of Elijah's spirit. After he sees Elijah's ascent, guaranteeing he would receive the requested spirit, Elisha tears his own clothes from off himself, and parts the Jordan river in the same manner as Elijah (2:12-14). Verse 15 helps to draw the natural conclusion for the reader seeing Elisha in possession of Elijah's cloak: "When the company of prophets who were at Jericho saw him at a distance, they declared, 'The spirit of Elijah rests on Elisha.'" There are certain similarities with Luke's text, when we consider the links present between the transfiguration and Jesus' baptism at the Jordan river (3:21-22). Jesus' baptism is the only other place in Luke where there is a sign of divine presence followed by the divine voice (*φωνή*) declaring that Jesus is *ὁ υἱός μου*, and it is at Jesus' baptism that the power of God visualized through the descent of the Holy Spirit rests on him. It is immediately after this that Jesus, "full of the Holy Spirit," is tested in the wilderness for forty days (4:1-13), returns "in the power of the Spirit to Galilee" (4:14), proclaims that "the Spirit of the Lord is upon me" in the synagogue (4:18), and then links his ministry with that of Elijah and Elisha (4:25-27). This suggests that Jesus' clothing as he prepares for his Elijah-like ascent has allusions to Elijah's cloak and the power of God that it symbolizes.

Our examination is not complete without considering one other biblical figure,

David. It was pointed out in our examination of Luke 2:7, 12 that Luke already frames Jesus as David's son in the introductory narratives. In particular, the angelic declaration of an eternal kingdom in 1:32 alludes to fulfillment of the Davidic covenant in 2 Sam 7:12-16, in which God declares "I will be to him father, and he shall be to me a son" (v. 14).⁵⁰ After the royalty motif resurges at his birth in 2:1-14, Son-of-God language reemerges at his baptism in 3:21-22,⁵¹ followed by Luke's genealogy in 3:23-38, which traces Jesus' lineage through David back to God, supporting Luke's claim to the royal and messianic identity of Jesus.⁵² This royal sonship is then predicated in the wilderness temptation (4:3, 5-6), which is then followed by the inauguration of his ministry in the quoting of Isa 61:1-2 (4:18), which is viewed by practically all scholars as "programmatic" for Luke's narrative.⁵³ Scholars are divided as to whether this quotation is interpreted by Luke along prophetic or royal-messianic lines. However, in Mark Strauss' analysis, both of these elements are present in the passage of 4:16-30 and more specifically in the Isa 61 quotation.⁵⁴ Yet the royal-messianic elements are particularly salient in Strauss' analysis. First, "the two features of anointing and Spirit-endowment are found in the Old Testament almost only in connection with the king."⁵⁵ Furthermore, the

50. Cf. Psalms 2, 89.

51. Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology*, JSNTSup 110 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 200-208, argues that Luke reworks Jesus' baptism material to depict the descent of the Holy Spirit as a royal anointing.

52. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah*, 209-15, correctly identifies the purpose of Luke locating his genealogy after the baptism for purposes of proving Jesus' messianic claim in contrast to Matthew's chosen location. But he then argues on the basis of the placement of the temptation narrative that "one should not read too much into Luke's addition of τοῦ θεοῦ following Adam's name." Yet this ignores the divine confirmation at his baptism. Through the baptism and temptation, Jesus is presented equally as new Son of God and new Adam, who was given the first royal commission of rulership.

53. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah*, 199.

54. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah*, 219-49.

55. See 1 Sam 16:12-13; 2 Sam 23:1-2; cf. *Pss Sol* 17:32, 37; 18:5, 7. Also see Walter Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40-66*, WBC (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 213; John Eaton, *Festal Drama in Deutero-Isaiah* (London: SPCK, 1979), 90; and the similar Qumran interpretation in 11QMelch 6-9. It is notable that the only occurrence of a prophetic anointing in the OT is of Elisha by Elijah in 1 Kings

figure in Isa 61:1-2 not only announces the arrival of God's salvation, but also carries it out. The role of granting freedom to the oppressed and to the slaves is that of the king, just as it was to establish justice and righteousness. This reading is consistent with the structure and context of Isaiah within the structure of 59:15b-63:6,⁵⁶ and the numerous links between Isa 61, the 'servant' of Isa 40-55, and the promised Davidic king of Isa 9 and 11.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Luke makes repeated statements in the introduction and in the opening section of 4:14-9:50 to closely connect the anointed one (χριστός) with the royal title "Son of God."⁵⁸ Lastly, as noted above, 4:14-9:50 is largely composed of episodes that focus on the action of Jesus' power and authority as he easily defeats the powers of sin and darkness. This begins to culminate in Peter's confession that he is τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ (9:20), which is followed by Jesus' reference to his coming glory and kingdom (9:26-7, cf. Luke 1:33).

Given this function of Isa 61:1-2 in Luke, the links with Peter's confession and the transfiguration, the critical role of the transfiguration episode, and the divine declaration of divine sonship in 9:35 that brings this section to a near-close, one should consider that there is quite possibly a link between the clothing of the anointed one in Isa 61 and the clothing of Christ in 9:29. In Isa 61:10 the anointed one rejoices in God because in preparing him for his task "he has clothed me with the garments of salvation, he has covered me with the robe of righteousness." This passage is centrally located such as to

19:19.

56. So John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40–66*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 575.

57. Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 562-5; J. Alec Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction & Commentary* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 499; and, to a minimal degree, Randall Heskett, *Messianism within the Scriptural Scroll of Isaiah*, LHBOTS 456 (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 252-63. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah*, 239-44, demonstrates how these links are tightened in the LXX.

58. Thus ἔχρισέν με in 4:18, and χριστός in e.g. 2:11, 3:15, 4:41, and 9:20. Cf. 20:41; 22:67-9; 23:2, 35-42.

link Isa 59:17, 61:10-11, and 63:1-3⁵⁹ so as to frame the entire passage of God's deliverance in 59:15b to 63:6 with salvation clothing language. In Isa 59:17 YHWH's responds to the lack of intercessor against injustice by bringing salvation and righteousness by his own arm: "He put on righteousness like a breastplate, and a helmet of salvation on his head; he put on garments of vengeance for clothing, and wrapped himself in fury as in a mantle." In turn this text goes on to refer to a coming Redeemer to Zion upon whom the Spirit of the Lord rests (59:20-21). In like manner Isa 63:1ff visualizes the return of the anointed one having completed his task: "Who is this that comes from Edom, from Bozrah in garments stained crimson? Who is this so splendidly robed, marching in his great might? 'It is I, announcing vindication, mighty to save.'" In other words, the deliverer in Isaiah 61 is clothed in a way that makes him *look* like the Redeemer God, bringing salvation and righteousness. As Alec Motyer states, "'Clothes' reveal character, guarantee equipment and express commitment."⁶⁰ This is precisely what is portrayed in Luke's narrative in the episodes leading up to the transfiguration in the display of "power and authority," and what is portrayed in the episode right after the transfiguration in which Jesus heals a boy from an unclean spirit (9:37-43).

With all these various possibilities for how Jesus' transfigured clothing is functioning symbolically in 9:29, how are we to choose? It seems best to consider that in fact we do not have to choose between options. Charles Talbert has demonstrated how it was common practice in Greco-Roman writing for an author to draw on at least two or

59. See Motyer, *Isaiah*, 505, 509-10. A number of scholars have observed a chiasmic structure in Isa 55-66, which has Isa 61 at its center, with 59:15b-21 aligned with 63:1-6. See the survey in Robert H. O'Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity: The Literary Structure of Isaiah*, JSOTSup 188 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 156-8.

60. Motyer, *Isaiah*, 505.

three different "architectural patterns" for narrative construction.⁶¹ It is therefore not unusual that these three character configurations of Moses, Elijah-Elisha, and David are rather tightly intertwined in Luke's narrative as our analysis has demonstrated thus far, and this structure reflects an understanding of how the OT narratives themselves create tight links between these characters.⁶² The primary focus is best located in the combination of temple elements that are explicitly portrayed in the transfiguration episode, and the Danielic imagery of the Son of Man who approaches the Ancient of Days clothed in white, as signaled by the specific wording of the clothing descriptions. But Jesus is clothed in such a manner as to reveal God's glory in carrying out his task of bringing righteousness and salvation to his people, and judgement and defeat to his enemies in a manner akin to, but greater than, key figures of Israel's history. Moses mediated God's presence and brought deliverance, Elijah and Elisha mediated God's blessings to his people when Israel's kings unleashed the Deuteronomic curses by their idolatry, and David brought deliverance and peace from Israel's enemies. But in Luke's narrative Jesus accomplishes all this to an unparalleled degree in accordance with the unique degree to which the divine presence is present with him.

Furthermore, this clothing is functioning symbolically at a critical juncture in Luke's narrative. The moment of the revelation of Jesus' identity as glorious redeemer is

61. Talbert, *Literary Patterns*. Pao and Schnabel, "Luke," 311-12 recognize that Moses, Elijah, and Davidic elements are all in play here, and also recognize the possibility of a link with Dan 7:13-14.

62. On Elijah and Elisha's portrayal as Mosaic figures in 1-2 Kings, see e.g. R. P. Carroll, "The Elijah-Elisha Sagas: Some Remarks on Prophetic Succession in Ancient Israel," *VT* 19, no. 4 (1969): 400-415; and Robert L. Cohn, "The Literary Logic of 1 Kings 17-19," *JBL* 101, no. 3 (1982): 333-50. On the Mosaic portrayal of the Davidic 'Suffering Servant' in Isaiah, see e.g. G. P. Hugenberger, "The Servant of the Lord in the 'Servant Songs' of Isaiah: A Second Moses Figure," in *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. P. E. Satterthwaite, Richard S. Hess, and Gordon J. Wenham (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), 105-40; and Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, trans. Margaret Kohl, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 305-17.

inextricably linked with the revelation of both his crucifixion suffering and his ascension, and the integral nature of this with the kingdom he has come to establish. Clothed in radiant divine glory, Jesus is worthy and prepared to complete his task to establish the kingdom of God. These overlapping themes of revealed divine glory and establishment of royal power reflect the critical placement of this episode within Luke's narrative, which was shown above to be structurally framed both by the geographical location of the temple and the geographical movement towards Jerusalem.

Luke 8:44 - The Healing of the Bleeding Woman

The framework developed for understanding the transfiguration helps make sense of a brief glimpse at Jesus' clothing a few episodes prior. On his way to heal Jairus' daughter (8:40-56), Jesus is enthroned with people and an impoverished woman having a twelve-year blood discharge is introduced. In approaching Jesus, she "came up behind him and touched the fringe of his clothes (ἤψατο τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ),⁶³ and immediately her hemorrhage stopped" (v. 44). As noted in Chapter Two, the standard outer garment (ἱμάτιον), often had stripes or bands of colors woven into them referred to as κράσπεδα. Yet in Num 15:38-9 and Deut 22:12 κράσπεδα is used to refer to the tassels (צִיצִית) commanded to be placed on the four corners of the garment with a violet (תְּכֵלֶת, ὑακίνθινος in LXX) thread attached to it.⁶⁴ As Num 15:39-41 states, these tassels were for

63. The words τοῦ κρασπέδου are absent in D, Marcion, and a number of old Latin manuscripts. The text could be considered a later addition in harmonization with Matthew, but the overwhelming external evidence supports its originality (P⁷⁵ N A B C etc.). See Roger L. Omanson, *A Textual Guide to the Greek New Testament: An Adaptation of Bruce M. Metzger's Textual Commentary for the Needs of Translators* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006), 123; and Marshall, *Luke*, 344-5.

64. Even though this is normally translated as "blue," Jacob Milgrom, *Numbers*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990), 410-14, has shown that the word properly refers to a "violet" with bluish hues. This color dye came from *Murex trunculus* snails, similar to but distinct from Tyrian purple, which came from *Murex brandaris* snails. Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 1-20*, AB 4A (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 401, notes that the color was described as "that

the purpose of remembering all the commandments of the Lord, and to be holy to God who redeemed them from Egypt. Of the NT uses, only in Matt 23:5 does the word *κράσπεδον* occur in a context that clearly links it to the Num 15 passage.⁶⁵ In the rest it must be inferred by the Jewish context. Yet, as noted in Chapter 2, there is sufficient evidence to show that Jews commonly wore stripes in their outer garments just like the rest of the Mediterranean world. The referent of *κράσπεδον* then could theoretically be either the stripe or the tassel. Both Matthew and Mark contain this episode, but in Mark the woman only touches his *ἱμάτιον*, whereas Matthew and Luke add *κράσπεδον*. Given its occurrence in Matt 23:5, the word is disambiguated in Matthew's gospel. If Luke used Matthew, then it is reasonable to infer the same meaning, but this is uncertain. However, Luke himself has repeatedly taken care to demonstrate Jesus' adherence to the Law (e.g. 2:21-4, 39, 41; 4:1-13). More than this, though, is Luke's demonstration that Jesus has a special relationship to the Law, and vice-versa. Jesus is bringing an unparalleled newness to the relationship between God and man (5:33-39), which affects inter-human relationships (6:27-36). Integral to the reshaping of God-man and man-man relationships, then, is Jesus' relationship to the Sabbath (6:1-5, 6-11), just as the Sabbath laws are central to the Mosaic covenant (Exod 23:10-17, 31:12-18; Lev 23:1-44, 25:1-22). As Lord of the Sabbath, the restoring pattern of the Sabbath laws become inextricably bound to Jesus who is powerfully restoring all things. It is quite possible that Luke's Gentile audience would not have made these connections. But Luke demonstrably expects high biblical literacy of his audience, and it is difficult to imagine Luke drawing attention to

of the sea," and could be linked with the color of lapis lazuli.

65. Elsewhere the word *κράσπεδον* only occurs in the NT at Matt 9:20, 14:36, 23:5; and Mark 6:56.

them unless they held particular meaning within the Jewish Torah framework sketched above.⁶⁶

Therefore, Luke has created the context for reading Jesus' κράσπεδον with respect to the tassels in Num 15:37-41.⁶⁷ This is especially true given Luke's focus on Jesus' relationship to the Sabbath, since the commandment to fashion the tassels in Numbers immediately follows, and therefore is a response to, the stoning of the Sabbath-breaker in Num 15:32-6. Yet the account of Jesus' tassels in chapter eight is rather removed from the question of his relationship to the Sabbath in chapter 6. On the other hand, We have already seen how Luke has drawn a number of links between chapters four and nine. There are further links between the beginning of chapter 9, where Jesus calls his disciples to kingdom action (9:1-6, 10-17), and chapter 5, where Jesus first calls his disciples (5:1-11, 27-32). Working our way inward, then, it is not surprising that Luke expects the reader to make a link between Jesus' relationship in the Sabbath at the beginning of chapter 6, and Jesus' wearing of the tassels specifically designed to assist in not breaking the Sabbath.

Is Luke therefore evoking any symbolism in referring to Jesus' ἱμάτιον and κράσπεδον? Given the framework of the Elijah narrative in Luke 7:1-8:3, the core of the section, and Luke 4:16-30 and 9:1-50, the "bookends" of the section, Jesus' outer garment of power is highly evocative of Elijah's cloak of power. Even though no tassels are

66. Justin Martyr, for example, recognized them as tassels; Jodi Magness, *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit: Jewish Daily Life in the Time of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 117.

67. Pace Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 326. Nolland, *Luke I*, 419, opts for the more general "edge" or "hem" because the idea here is only the periphery of the garment. On the contrary, tassels are just as "peripheral" as the stripe or edge, and tassels sown at the lower corners of the garment would have been slightly easier to reach. See Bovon, *Luke I*, 338; and Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar Zum Neuen Testament Aus Talmud Und Midrasch*, vol. 4 (München: Beck, 1928) 1:277-292. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke I*, 746; and Alfred Plummer, *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, 5th edition, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1922 [1896]), 235.

mentioned on Elijah's cloak, we have seen how Luke has intertwined the figures of Moses and Elijah in narrating Jesus' story. When this consideration is placed alongside that of the structural correspondences between this passage and those of the Sabbath, it suggests that Jesus is not simply a law-keeper, but his embodiment of the law has creative and restoring power, such that rather than becoming defiled by the ritually unclean woman (cf. Lev 15:25-30), Jesus restores her to a state of cleanness.

Furthermore, consideration should be given to the nature of the tassels themselves. Anyone familiar with the biblical text specifying that a violet cord be attached to the tassels could easily visualize it and make the connection that in the Torah the color exclusively has to the tabernacle or to the high priest's clothing.⁶⁸ As such, it may have had connotations of God's presence, and in such case would link nicely with the transfiguration account, but it more likely had connotations of royalty, and pointed to the kingship of YHWH over Israel,⁶⁹ a connotation that connects strongly with the kingship motif noted above. In any case, these two connotations are not mutually exclusive. Taking the passage on its own, it seems a stretch to infer symbolic connotations of a special royal divine presence of YHWH with Jesus through Luke's addition of tassels to Jesus' outer garment. But when one considers that these themes run strongly from Luke 4:14-9:50, culminating in the transfiguration episode, it is plausible that it is Luke's intent that we visualize a hint of God's royal divine presence being uniquely present with Jesus in his powerful display of the restoration of life to his people.

68. In the Pentateuch, the color is used exclusively to refer to various element of the Tabernacle, outside of Num 15:38 (Exod. 25:4; 26:1, 4, 31, 36; 27:16; 28:5, 6, 8, 15, 28, 31, 33, 37; 35:6, 23, 25, 35; 36:8, 11, 35, 37; 38:18, 23; 39:1-3, 5, 8, 21-22, 24, 29, 31; Num. 4:6-7, 9, 11-12. Cf. 2 Chr. 2:6, 13; 3:14). The other occurrences in the OT occur in royal contexts: Est. 1:6; 8:15; Jer. 10:9; Ezek. 23:6; 27:7, 24.

69. Milgrom, *Numbers*, 127; and Timothy R. Ashley, *The Book of Numbers*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 294-5. Bovon, *Luke 1*, 338 notes the common Jewish understanding that the color represents heaven, which has overlap with understanding it as representing the royal presence of God.

This symbolic visualization speaks all the more powerfully as the episode of the healing woman is itself embedded within an episode about Jesus' power to bring resurrection from the dead.⁷⁰

Luke 23:11 - The Trial

As the narrative approaches the passion with Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem, royal-Davidic links with Jesus come into sharper focus. Luke's last mark of geographic movement in his gospel (εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα in 19:28) marks the beginning of his last major section, and it is headed by the account of Jesus' royal entry into Jerusalem with the people shouting, "Blessed is the king who comes in the name of the Lord! Peace in heaven, and glory in the highest heaven!" (19:38). In Jerusalem, he first exercises his royal authority in cleansing the temple (19:45-6), an authority that is soon challenged by those unwilling to yield their God-given authority (20:1-8, 9-18). This naturally raises the question of the relationship between Jesus' kingly authority to that of Caesar (20:19-26), and the question of his relationship to king David (20:41-47). Jesus, however, is not simply reestablishing Jerusalem's old reign. His kingdom is on a cosmic level such that the old order will be undone (21:5-38), and he is reordering the kingdom of Israel under a different type of power (22:24-30, 38, 49-51). At the council of priests, Jesus' human authority is at stake with his divine authority (22:67-70), and it is on the grounds of his claims to kingship that he is accused before Pilate (23:2-3), and he is mocked and labelled as such at his crucifixion (23:35-38).

It is interesting, therefore, that Luke has no account of Jesus dressed as a mock king in thorny crown and purple robe as in the other three gospel accounts.⁷¹ Instead,

70. Fitzmyer, *Luke I*, 744 notes the elements in this passage foreshadowing his own resurrection.

71. Müller, "Kleidung als Element," 212, rightly cautions that Jesus' clothing here "hat eine ganz andere

there is no account of mock clothing after Pilate's examination (cf. Luke 22:63-64). Pilate sends Jesus to Herod to be examined, his soldiers mock Jesus, and they send him back to Pilate after "arraying him in gorgeous apparel (περιβαλὼν ἐσθήτα λαμπράν)" (23:11, RSV). The word ἐσθής is unspecific and, like ἱματισμός, simply denotes clothing in a general sense.⁷² The adjective λαμπρός usually carries a sense of 'bright,' 'shining,' or 'radiant,' especially in describing one's clothing or complexion.⁷³ The precise meaning of this adjective had been understood in various ways. Some argue that it is Luke's way of simply referring to Jesus' kingly clothing.⁷⁴ Others consider that the phrase carries no royal connotations, for reasons such as that ἐσθής λαμπρά simply refers to clothing of the rich in James 2:2-3.⁷⁵ Luke uses the phrase ἐσθής λαμπρά in only one other place to refer to the clothing of the angel who visited Cornelius in Acts 10:30. Given this angelic reference, it's important to note the broad range of the adjective λαμπρός, which can be seen in the two other references to angelic clothing in Luke. In Luke 24:4 the angels are wearing ἐσθής ἀστραπούσα, and in Acts 1:10 the angels are wearing ἐσθηταὶ λευκαί.⁷⁶

Bedeutung als der Purpurmantel, der aus Mk 15,17 vertraut ist, und sollte nicht vorschnell mit diesem identifiziert werden."

72. Francois Bovon, *Luke 3*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 269-70; and *pace* Edwards, *Luke*, 674-5, who seems to link Jesus' clothing to Herod Agrippa's attire in Acts 12:21 simply on the basis of ἐσθής. But there is no necessary semantic link of royalty between Jesus and Herod Agrippa, and Acts 12:21 explicitly states ἐσθήτα βασιλικήν, leaving the link with Jesus' clothing loose at best. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Luke II*, AB 28A (Garden City: Doubleday, 1985), 1482, views it as mocking his guiltlessness.

73. Marshall, *Luke*, 857.

74. Bock, *Luke*, 2:1820-21; Plummer, *St. Luke*, 523; cf. Philo, 105; Josephus, *AJ*, 8.182.

75. Fitzmyer, *Luke II*, 1482; John Nolland, *Luke III*, WBC 35C (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1993), 1124; See Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 743-4 for different options. Bovon, *Luke 3*, 270, takes the phrase ἐσθής λαμπρά to refer to a ceremonial cloak, reflecting the alternate tradition of clothing ridicule in Matthew/Mark. Yet even if Luke is altering an alternate tradition, this doesn't account for Luke's vague use of wording.

76. The only other occurrence of ἐσθής in Luke-Acts is in Acts 12:21 describing Herod's clothing as ἐσθής βασιλική.

This cluster of synonyms highlights how Luke is using λαμπρός in a general sense to describe Jesus' clothing with some significant degree of glory and radiance.⁷⁷

At the same time, one should not miss the royal context. The major accusation brought against Jesus concerns whether he is "the king of the Jews." He is then sent to Herod Antipas, the actual Jewish king at the time, who, in despising (ἐξουθενήσας) and mocking (ἐμπαίξας) Jesus, dresses him in clothing that could easily be associated with royal clothing.⁷⁸ There is therefore an irony with which Luke presents his audience. The narrative has already legitimated Jesus as true Davidic royalty, and the Jewish king Herod is unwittingly legitimating that fact by clothing him in such a manner.⁷⁹ However, Luke doesn't actually use the adjective "royal" (βασιλικός), nor any word that has unambiguous royal connotations, such as "purple" (πορφυροῦς). He instead uses a more ambiguous word whose meaning aligns more closely with adjectives such as λευκός and ἀστραπτών. This suggests that this "ambiguation" is for the purpose of linking this event to that in which the other description of Jesus' clothing is found in closely synonymous terms: at the transfiguration (ὁ ἱματισμὸς λευκὸς ἐξαστράπτων). As noted above, the transfiguration is framed by anticipation of the impending suffering and death of the Christ (9:21-22, 23-27, 43b-45), which receives relatively little focus again until immediately before his arrest (cf. 14.27, 17.25, 18:31-4).⁸⁰ Now that Jesus' time of death has come, Luke signals

77. But this is far from certain given the ambiguity of both terms.

78. This is true whether περιβαλὼν is grammatically dependent to the previous participle ἐξουθενήσας or the following finite verb ἀνέπεμψεν (see Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 733-4; Marshall, *Luke*, 856). Even if περιβαλὼν is grammatically dependent on ἀνέπεμψεν the context makes clear that this is part of the shaming process; Bovon, *Luke 3*, 269 notes the jolting syntax of the two participles, ἐμπαίξας and περιβαλὼν, adjacent to each other.

79. Some have seen an allusion in this episode to Ps 2:1-2, but this is unlikely (see Pao and Schnabel, "Luke," 392; Fitzmyer, *Luke II*, 1479).

80. See Peter Mallen, *Isaiah in Luke-Acts*, 173-9, for Isaianic links between Luke 4:18-19, Luke 9, and the crucifixion, which tie Jesus' identity and mission together through Luke's narrative as the Isaianic

the revelation of his glory. Dressed in ἐσθῆς λαμπρά, Jesus goes to the cross as the glorious victor over his enemies. In that sense, then, Luke does portray Jesus in royal clothing, but it is not *merely* royal. Inasmuch as his transfiguration reveals a glory that aligns with that displayed by God at the temple manifestations and the Danielic vision (see above), so also does Luke signal that here (cf. 22:69). The language is obviously softened compared to Luke 9:29, but that is accordance with the change in event.

Luke 23:34 - The Crucifixion

Strictly speaking, the narrative gives no clothing portrayal of Jesus at his crucifixion. Since crucifixion entailed the shaming display of a person unclothed on a cross, Jesus' nakedness is implied in the very act, and in the fact that in v. 34b "they cast lots to divide his clothing (τὰ ἱμάτια)." ⁸¹ The word for clothing is in the plural here. Since the ἱμάτιον was a large outer garment, it would be unusual for someone to wear more than one. However, and probably for this reason, the plural could often simply refer to the assortment of clothing one was wearing. Jesus was no doubt wearing a ἱμάτιον and at least one χιτῶν (cf. John 19:23). It has been demonstrated that Luke specifically portrays the crucifixion in such a way to reflect the Isaianic suffering servant, and the allusion that the divided garments provide to the Davidic Psalm 22 is clearly linked with this. ⁸² It is certain that the τὰ ἱμάτια is plural in referring to Psalm 22:19, but only because of the verbal agreement in the whole phrase of Luke 23:34b.

It is notable that Jesus' nakedness is not specifically mentioned, neither by Luke

deliverer of the New Exodus.

81. As noted in Chapter Two, "naked" need not imply fully unclothed, but rather unclothed to a shameful degree. For nakedness and crucifixion, see David W. Chapman and Eckhard J. Schnabel, *The Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus: Texts and Commentary*, WUNT 344 (Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 673-4.

82. See Mallen, *Isaiah in Luke-Acts*, 118-125; Pao and Schnabel, "Luke," 396-8. Also see Rusam, *Das Alte Testament Bei Lukas*, 237-253, on the citation of Isa 53:12 in Luke 22:37.

nor by any other gospel writer. However, this is in accordance with the fact that, although Jesus suffers repeated shaming, he is never actually shamed, strictly speaking. Jesus unwaveringly maintains both his innocence and dignity throughout the passion narrative, and the fact that there is no explicit mention of his nakedness reflects this. Beyond the fact that these texts point to the fulfillment of the nature of the Messiah's suffering and shame foreshadowed in Psalm 22, it is difficult to obtain any symbolic sense here.

Summary

In Luke's Gospel Jesus is primarily portrayed in clothing in order to symbolize the nature of his identity. As a baby he is born in swaddling clothes, which symbolizes his humanity as well as completing the picture of his royal status. He is also the divine-warrior and foretold prophet figure who is clothed in garments through which he powerfully brings salvation to his people. The question of Jesus' identity crescendos in the transfiguration episode, in which the matrix of Daniel's vision of the Ancient of Days, Moses' vision of God on Sinai, the tabernacle and temple theophany, and persons of Moses, Elijah, and David all come together in an acute manner through the display of Jesus' face and clothing. Jesus' nature is displayed again through his clothing as he prepares to consummate Israel's story as the divine-human son of David approaches Jerusalem to defeat death. Luke reminds the reader of this glory through the last portrayal of Jesus' clothed as he approaches the cross, creating a link between the ultimate display of God's warrior-like glory in defeating sin and death and the suffering and cruciform death of Jesus. Luke situates certain symbolic displays of Jesus' clothing in certain key locations of his narrative in order to connect the nature of who Jesus is with his ability to

successfully carry out his divine task of accomplishing victory by successfully traveling the heroic journey required to accomplish that task.

4.3 Clothing and Symbolism in Characters Other Than Jesus

We turn now to examine texts in Luke portraying clothing other than that worn by Jesus. We will take an in-depth look at three specific texts: the Gerasene demoniac in 8:26-39, the parable of the Lost Son in 15:11-32, and Jesus' last words in Luke's gospel in 24:49 in which he instructs the disciples to remain in Jerusalem for a time. Although the reference to clothing in 24:49 is metaphorical, we will see that it still carries a symbolism that links to symbolic uses of non-metaphorical clothing in Luke.

Luke 8:26-39 - The Gerasene Demoniac

After Jesus calms a storm in the Sea of Galilee, Luke's narrative finds Jesus and the disciples sailing to the land of the Gerasenes, on the opposite side of Galilee. Jesus is met there by a man whom the text describes as having demons, and notes that "For a long time he had worn no clothes (οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ἱμάτιον), and he did not live in a house but in the tombs" (v. 27). After Jesus drives the demons out and the resulting swine stampede frightens the herdsmen, the villagers come out and find the man "sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed (ἱματισμένον) and in his right mind" (v. 35).

Luke's mention of the clothing, and lack thereof, of the Gerasene demon-possessed man has a few notable features. Like the parallel account in Mark 5:1-20, he notes that the man is found clothed after being exorcised of demons. The verb ἱματίζω is used in both Mark and Luke and is rarely found prior to the first century AD.⁸³ As noted

83. A *TLG* search reveals that the two occurrences in Mark and Luke, the only two in the NT, are the

in Chapter Two, it is considered in the lexicons to carry the general meaning of simply being clothed, synonymous with ἐνδύω and ἐνδιδύσκω. This meaning aligns with the cognate noun ἱματισμός, and with the older meaning of ἱμάτιον, and the contemporaneous meaning of the plural ἱμάτια. But Luke adds a detail not found in Mark: that for a long time he had not worn a ἱμάτιον, which in the singular always refers to the outer garment in the NT.⁸⁴ Though not explicit, the meaning of ἱματίζω in the Markan parallel infers that the man was completely naked. But is this the case in Luke? Given the small lexical data, it is unclear whether the verb *necessarily* carried a general sense in its early usage, and it's possible here that Luke inferred that the man had simply gone without an outer garment, leaving the reader to infer that the man may likely have still been wearing a χιτῶν.⁸⁵ Or should the reader infer here that ἱμάτιον refers to any garment, generally speaking, in light of the following verb ἱματίζω?

In considering the options, we need to take a step back to observe the larger narrative. The man is presented as living among the tombs (v. 27), as alive but dead, so to speak. Furthermore, his history is that of having repeatedly broken all human bonds and shackles to return to the wilderness (v. 29), suggesting that his real bonds are greater than merely human bonds.⁸⁶ After this the text focuses on the plurality of the demon-

earliest. *LSJ*, s.v. ἱματίζω, refers to an occurrence in the second century B.C. (*UPZ* 2.14) and in first century A.D. (*POxy.* 275.14). A search of the Packard Humanities Institute (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/>) inscriptions reveals zero occurrences.

84. Note especially the contrast in Luke 3:11, 6:29: ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντός σου τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσης. All singular occurrences of the word in the NT are as follows: Matt 5:40; 9:16, 20-21; 14:36; 24:18; Mark 2:21; 5:27; 6:56; 10:50; 13:16; Luke 5:36; 6:29; 8:27, 44; 22:36; John 19:2, 5; Acts 12:8; Heb 1:11-12; Rev 19:13, 16. Admittedly, the instances in Hebrews 1:11-12, which quote Psalm 101:26-28 (LXX), are ambiguous.

85. Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 317, recognizes the inference that "ist damit lediglich gesagt, dass er im Unterhemd ... herumläuft." By contrast most commentators assume he is completely without clothes.

86. So Bovon, *Luke 1*, 328.

possession, and the particular name of the demon-group, λεγιών, a name that resounds with Roman military language, presents the man as one taken prisoner by demonic military powers.⁸⁷ Besides the demon-possessed man and the demonic cohort, the only other character in this scene is Jesus. Although the disciples sailed with him in verse 26 (κατέπλευσαν), the rest of the scene unfolds in the singular, picturing Jesus as the only actor as the disciples disappear in the background. As such, the interaction between Jesus and the demon-possessed man serves to reveal his royal identity and salvific power. He is the Son of God Most High (υιὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου) in verse 28, and possesses full authority over the dark forces, commanding them and granting permission in accordance with his will (8:28-32). Thus the scene accords well within the framework of 4:14-9:50 sketched above, presenting Jesus as the conquering Davidic-Messianic king, not only in name but demonstrated in his deeds. As such he frees the man from his bondage to the dark forces and restores him to life and humanity, in accordance with his Isa 61 commission.⁸⁸

The lack of clothing is consonant with the man's hostile capture by the demonic army, for he was deprived of clothing just as the Roman conquering army, for example, would strip war prisoners to be brought back as slaves. Although prisoners of war were often stripped naked, this was not necessarily the case. But at a minimum, forced removal of some respectable clothing was the norm, and the scenario is necessarily one of shame

87. Nolland, *Luke I*, 409; and Todd Klutz, *The Exorcism Stories in Luke-Acts: A Sociostylistic Reading*, SNTSMS 129 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 99. Klutz argues that the negation of the lexeme ἐνδύω itself suggests "vulnerability, defencelessness, against alien oppression, and unfitness for any kind of divine service," based on a number of instances in the LXX. But it is uncertain that the lexeme itself invokes that notion instead of the general concept.

88. Likewise, Klutz's analysis in *The Exorcism Stories*, 82-151, concludes that in this narrative "the power and authority of Jesus are strongly foregrounded, even though the terms δύναμις and ἐξουσία do not occur." Cf. Green, *Luke*, 339.

and humiliation.⁸⁹ Thus whether Luke intended the lack of ἱμάτιον to mean that the man wore no clothes at all, or whether it means he used to wear an outer garment and it was taken from him by virtue of his slavery, the man should be considered "naked" in some sense and existing in a state of shame. Jesus the conquering king and hero frees the man from his slavery to the dark kingdom and restores his clothing. How this actually happens is uncertain, whether Jesus removed his own ἱμάτιον and gave it to him, or one of the disciples, who are implicitly present, or a bystander gave him a cloak,⁹⁰ the reader is not told. What Luke's narrative portrays is through the eyes of the villagers who come out to find him in an entirely different state. Freed from slavery to the kingdom of demons, and therefore belonging to Jesus' kingdom, he is clothed and in possession of a sound mind.

More than this, this clothing corresponds with the driving out of uncleanness. By virtue of living among the dead, the man was necessarily unclean at the beginning of the episode (cf. Lev 11:24-28) and this motif of uncleanness heightens with the presence of the nearby swineherd in Gentile country.⁹¹ This uncleanness is driven from him in such a dramatic act that when the herd of pigs rushes into the lake the land undergoes purification at the same time he does. The story itself creates a close link between the purification and act of clothing as the narrative moves quickly from the destruction of the pigs to the crowd's view of the clothed man. Thus the restoration of cleanness goes hand in hand with restoration of clothed state in this narrative.

But he is not simply clothed for his own sake. The narrative presents this newly clothed man as having been given both the task to proclaim God's kingdom and the

89. See the section on nakedness in chapter 2.3.2 above.

90. So Plummer, *St. Luke*, 232.

91. Pao and Schnabel, "Luke," 308-9; Edwards, *Luke*, 248-9; Fitzmyer, *Luke I*, 737; Bovon, *Luke I*, 327-9.

ability to carry out that task. While the exact imagery of the before and after state of the man's clothing is not entirely certain, what the clothing imagery does portray, especially by means of the movement from a state of unclothed slavery to clothed freedom, is the restoration of human dignity and character as it aligns with the new status of belonging to Jesus' kingdom.

Luke 15:11-32 - The Parable of the Lost Son

The parable of the lost son is bipartite in structure,⁹² and exhibits numerous parallels with the prior two parables (i.e. the Lost Sheep in 15:3-7 and the Lost Coin in 15:8-10) to set up a clear correspondence between God and the father of the story, and sinners and the lost son of the story.⁹³ The unparalleled material with the older son in the second half of the lost son parable forms an *inclusio* with 15:1-2, linking the older son with the spiritual leaders of Israel.⁹⁴ The father's joyous response to the son's return is both the crescendo of the first part of the parable and the center point of the entire parable, drawing the primary focus to the father's response to finding his lost son.⁹⁵

With this in mind, it is notable that the clothing of the son with the best robe, a ring, and sandals (στολή ἡ πρώτη, δακτύλιος, and ὑποδήματα) as the first response of the father to finding his lost son is located at the very center of this parable in v. 22, and therefore its meaning is central to Jesus' point about the relationship between God and the

92. See Klyne R. Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent: A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 124.

93. There is no indication that this parable is about Jews versus Gentiles, contra Heikki Räisänen, "The Prodigal Gentile and His Jewish Christian Brother," in *Challenges to Biblical Interpretation: Collected Essays, 1991-2000* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 37-60, though it could theoretically extrapolate to that within Luke's larger discourse. See Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent*, 139.

94. Stephen C. Barton, "Parables on God's Love and Forgiveness," in *The Challenge of Jesus' Parables*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 199-216, 209.

95. So also Marshall, *Luke*, 604.

repentant sinner.⁹⁶ The story itself indicates that this clothing represents a status change from not belonging to God's household to belonging. The story does not indicate the son returned as a slave or in hopes of becoming one,⁹⁷ but rather he was joined to a citizen of the foreign country (ἐκολλήθη ἐνὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης), which resulted in decline from one level of filth to another, and he returned home in hopes of becoming one of the father's hired workers (ἓνα τῶν μισθίων).⁹⁸ When the famine hit, his state of living in a foreign land declined to that of a hired field worker, which is his goal in returning home, knowing that living as a field worker for his father would be better service. Thus the clothing is concerned with status, yet not primarily as elevation from a slave,⁹⁹ but as the honor in being transferred from a kingdom of uncleanness and filth to that of God's kingdom, not much unlike the situation of the sinners who have precipitated this parable.

As discussed in chapter two, a στολή generally referred to a long robe that carried connotations of wealth and honor. The adjective πρώτη further identifies this robe as the best one.¹⁰⁰ Some scholars read this as "former robe," taking the adjective as referring to the first robe with respect to the son,¹⁰¹ but the text doesn't read πρώτερος, and this reading doesn't align with the robe as a gift that is accompanied by the signet ring, which symbolizes the unique authority belonging to father alone. The "best robe," then is the

96. Bailey, *Poet and Peasant*, 173-80 argues that the son doesn't actually repent. But his argument drives an unreal wedge between prudence and repentance (Barton, "Parables on God's Love and Forgiveness," 210-11), and over-reads the Lost Son parable against the tight connections with the parables in 15:3-10, where the verb μετανοέω and its cognates are explicit.

97. Pace Edwards, *Luke*, 442; and Craig L. Blomberg, *Interpreting the Parables*, 2nd edition (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2012), 206.

98. See Bailey, *Poet and Peasant*, 176; Bock, *Luke*, 2:1312-13.

99. So Nolland, *Luke II*, 785; contra Edwards, *Luke*, 442-3.

100. Fitzmyer, *Luke II*, 1090; Arland J. Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 79.

101. Bovon, *Luke II*, 428.

best one of the house, which would have belonged to the father, worn for special occasions.¹⁰² Many commentators note that the clothing of the son in this manner treats him as an honored guest,¹⁰³ which is culturally true to a degree, but does not account for the fact that the son is not a guest, but has come home to stay. The clothing of the son with the "best robe" is therefore an act of honor that transfers the authority and glory of the father to the son as an appropriate representative of his house.¹⁰⁴

That the father put a δακτύλιον on his finger is further indicative of this status change, and its use throughout the LXX referring to a signet ring, bestowing royal authority through its transfer, is suggestive in this context.¹⁰⁵ Nor does the lack of ὑποδήματα necessarily mean he comes home a slave, for there were many reasons why one went without sandals in the ancient world. Particular insight may be gained by considering *b. Shabbat* 152a:

Now, he [the Sadducee] saw that he [R. Joshua] was not wearing shoes, [whereupon] he remarked, 'He [who rides] on a horse is a king, upon an ass, is a free man, and he who has shoes on his feet is a human being; but he who has none of these, one who is dead and buried is better off.'¹⁰⁶

Likewise the father rejoices that his son was dead but now living. Snodgrass draws attention to *b. Pesahim* 4a and *b. Mo'ed Qatan* in which Jewish mourners were forbidden to wear shoes. This aligns with how the story describes the destitution that the son falls

102. See Kenneth E. Bailey, *Finding the Lost: Cultural Keys to Luke 15* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), 154.

103. E.g. Fitzmyer, *Luke II*, 1090. Nolland, *Luke II*, 785.

104. So Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 536.

105. See Gen 38:18, 25; 41:42; Est 3:10; 8:2, 8, 10; Tob 1:22; 1 Macc 6:15; Dan 6:18; Bel 1:14. Cf. Josephus, *AJ* 12.360. See Marshall, *Luke*, 610, Plummer, *St. Luke*, 376; contra C. F. Evans, *Saint Luke*, 594; Nolland, *Luke II*, 785; and Bock, *Luke*, 2.1315, who seem to ignore the overarching kingdom framework operative behind the parable. Feasting and kingdom are linked closely in this section of Luke - cf. Luke 13:28-14:24. Also see John H. Elliott, "Temple Versus Household in Luke-Acts: A Contrast in Social Institutions," in *Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*, ed. Jerome H. Neyrey (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 211-40, 227-8.

106. Quoted in Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent*, 625, n. 161.

into by virtue of being joined to a foreign land. Snodgrass also points out how *b. Qiddushin* 22b and *b. Baba Batra* 33b indicate that to put shoes on someone else is to acknowledge the other person as master. Likewise the father, in ordering the slave to put sandals on the feet of his son, is elevating his son to participate in his authority. Therefore, while the clothing certainly symbolizes a change in familial status, more than that it also portrays the status of authority within the household that is being granted to the found son.

Beyond this, some have seen an allusion in this clothing to Joseph in Gen 41:42, in which Pharaoh clothes Joseph.¹⁰⁷ Others are skeptical given the imprecision in the narrative details.¹⁰⁸ There is considerable overlap between items of dress. Like the found son, Joseph is given a δακτύλιος and a fine στολή.¹⁰⁹ Yet Joseph's στολή was made of fine linen (βύσσινος) and he was given a golden chain to wear around his neck. Skepticism against seeing an allusion to Joseph here is therefore understandable. Yet there are a number of other indicators that suggest that an allusion to the Joseph narrative is probable here. First, the parable falls under the large umbrella of Jesus' interaction with the Pharisees, which begins at 13:22, in which he claims they will be cast out from the kingdom of "Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets" (13:28) and excluded from the eschatological feast (cf. 13:29-30, 14:7-24).¹¹⁰ James Edwards also notes that there is a strong and unique correlation between the father and son in this parable and the

107.E.g. Francois Bovon, *Luke II*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 428; Müller, "Kleidung Als Element," 187–214, 200; Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, trans. S. H. Hooke, Revised (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1963), 130; Edwards, *Luke*, 443; and Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus*, 79.

108. Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 536; and Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent*, 129-30.

109. The MT uses a generic word for clothing, כִּתְּוִיָּה, but this is translated as στολή in the LXX.

110. See Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet*, 199.

reconciliation of Jacob and Esau in Gen 33:4,¹¹¹ suggesting that these patriarchal narratives are being signaled. In addition, both Joseph and the found son experience a famine in the land and their fathers consider them dead but receive them back alive.¹¹² Moreover, aside from 1 Macc 6:15, Gen 41:42 is the only place in the LXX where someone is gifted a δακτύλιος with a fine στολή from a king, and, although the father in the parable is not specifically a king, the implication is present by virtue of the correlation between God and the father, and the citizenship language already noted.¹¹³ One might also say that the son's clothing marks the full removal from the desperate situation just as it does for Joseph's removal from prison. Also, Joseph is a notable character for his special status granted by Jacob as marked by his clothing in Gen 37, and Joseph's sons receive a special grafting into the family of Jacob, in some ways replacing the first and second-born (cf. Gen 48:5, 49:3-7) and reflecting the division present between Jacob's sons all along.¹¹⁴ Similarly, Jesus is addressing a divided Israel, in which one group is despising another. Furthermore, if Luke is drawing on the Jacob and Joseph narrative to criticize Israel's leaders for their actions, it would be akin to his criticism through Stephen in Acts 7 (cf. vv. 7-9, 52). It is therefore likely that Luke is drawing on the general Jacob/Israel narratives in referring to the restoration of Israel, and therefore likely that the clothing

111. Edwards, *Luke*, 442-3.

112. Cf. Gen 37:33-35, 42:36-38, 44:28-34, 45:25-8, 46:28-34.

113. Likewise Marshall, *Luke*, 606, with Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, *Die Re-Investitur des Verlorenen Sohnes in der Gleichniserzählung Jesu Luk. 15, 11-32*, Veröffentlichungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften 137 (Cologne: Westdeutscher, 1967), acknowledges the kingly elements present, although he rightly rejects Rengstorff's argument that the entire symbolism refers to the act of *k'tsatsah*.

114. On Joseph receiving the double-portion inheritance right through his two sons, thereby displacing Reuben, see Sara Japhet on 1 Chron 5:1-2 in *I and II Chronicles*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 132-3.

signals that of Joseph.¹¹⁵ As such, a closer symbolic link is made between the clothing of the lost son and the investiture of authority.

Beyond this, one may also note further overlap with the Joseph narratives. In the story, Joseph is not actually a sinner, but rather through trial and temptation resists sin and remains faithful to God. He is unjustly thrown into prison, but through his faithfulness and strength of character is ultimately demonstrated to be in the right, and elevated from being despised by Israel's sons, as well as the Egyptians, to the honorable position of mediating Pharaoh's rulership. Likewise the parable of the lost son is located within the trajectory of inversions of righteousness in the kingdom of God (13:22-14:35) based on one's faithfulness to God versus other "masters" (16:1-17:19, 18:1-14, 19:11-27). Like Joseph, the lost son exhibits worthiness of character to mediate the rulership of the father by his trust in the father, and is thus found righteous by his faith. This quality of character is found displayed by the honor of the "best robe" given by the father.

Luke 24:49 - Jesus' last words in Luke's Gospel

Luke's post-resurrection account is the longest among the Synoptists. After the women discover an empty tomb (24:1-12), Jesus encounters two disciples, Cleopas and Simon, on the Emmaus road from Jerusalem, who then return to the eleven disciples in Jerusalem after they realize they had encountered Jesus (vv. 13-35). Back in Jerusalem, Jesus appears to them all, proves his corporeality, and leaves them with some closing words (vv. 36-49). After giving them understanding to relate the fulfillment of Scriptures to the Christ-event and the resulting necessary task of proclaiming repentance and

115. So Stephen Barton, "Parables on God's Love and Forgiveness," 209-10.

forgiveness to all nations, Jesus' last words leave them with the assurance that "I am sending upon you what my Father promised" and instructs that they are to stay in Jerusalem "until you have been clothed with power from on high (ἐνδύσθησθε ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν)" (24:49). Luke then relates his ascension into heaven, and the disciples' joy as they return to Jerusalem and worship at the temple (vv. 50-53).

As we have already seen, Luke has made a number of close links in his gospel narratives to the Elijah-Elishah Narrative (EEN). As Thomas Brodie and Kenneth Litwak have argued, this is especially true for Luke's narrative of Jesus' ascension both at the end of his gospel and the beginning of Acts,¹¹⁶ as the account of Elijah's ascension in 2 Kings 2:1-18 of the EEN, being the only other ascension account in Scripture, forms a framework for Jesus' ascension. In particular, Brodie notes the following chiasmic structure in 2 Kings 2:1-18:

1. The witness of three groups and of Elishah, 2:1-7.

2. The mantle is used and the spirit promised, 8-10.

3. The assumption, 11.

2. The mantle is taken up and the spirit given, 12-14.

1. The witness of a group and of Elisha, 15-18.¹¹⁷

In a similar fashion Luke places great emphasis on witness in the narratives surrounding Jesus' ascension (e.g. Luke 22:66-71; 23:55-24:43; 24:48; Acts 1:3, 8, 9, 22; Acts 2:32, 40). Just as Elishah asks for a double portion of Elijah's spirit, and so receives it precisely

116. See Brodie, *Luke the Literary Interpreter*, 254-68; only an outline of the most salient features of his analysis are given here. Also see Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts*, 146-151. On page 116 Litwak states that he demonstrates that "Luke uses the Scriptures of Israel for framing in discourse."

117. Taken from Brodie, *Luke the Literary Interpreter*, 255; similarly, see T. R. Hobbs, "2 Kings 1 and 2: Their Unity and Purpose," *SR* 13, no. 3 (1984): 327-34.

because he saw Elijah ascending, so in a similar fashion Luke connects the coming of the Holy Spirit to the witnesses of his ascension. In Luke 24:49 they are promised power from on high as promised by the Father, and this theme comes in full force in Acts (cf. 1:2, 8; 2:1-41). The elements of wind and fire may also draw this link even tighter (2 Kings 2:1, 11; Acts 2:2-3). Lastly, one may also note the particular verbal emphasis on the significance of the ascension by the unique threefold occurrence of the verb ἀναλαμβάνω in the passive in 2 Kings 2:9-11 and Acts 1:2, 11, 22.¹¹⁸

With this general framework in place, we draw our focus back to the clothing language. The use of the verb ἐνδύω in Luke 24:49 could simply be a poetic use of metaphor.¹¹⁹ Yet the strong link between the EEN and Luke's ascension narrative suggests much more. That they receive "power from on high" is highly reminiscent of Jesus' own conception by that power (1:35), gift of that power through sonship (1:32), and baptism with the Holy Spirit (3:21-22); as well as the witness of his power over the demonic forces (8:28) and the people at his royal entrance into Jerusalem (19:38). This very reality of Jesus' "power from on high" has already been displayed through the glorious transfiguration of his clothing in 9:28-36, which reappears in a glimmer as he approaches the cross in 23:11 (see above). Now that Jesus' ascension is impending, that same glorious clothing, the divine-royal clothing that powerfully realizes and creates new life out of cruciform behavior, is being passed on to the disciples watching his ascension just as Elisha received Elijah's cloak after watching his ascension.¹²⁰ Both are also

118. Similarly Nolland, *Luke III*, 1220-21.

119. Marshall, *Luke*, 907.

120. Holly Beers, *The Followers of Jesus as the Servant: Luke's Model from Isaiah for the Disciples in Luke-Acts*, LNTS 535 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 118-25, cogently argues that Luke is also portraying the disciples as receiving the Isaianic servant commissioning from Jesus, not unlike Jesus himself received. Cf. the quotation of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47.

commanded to remain sitting,¹²¹ and both find great joy (2 Kings 2:12, Luke 24:52), drawing the connections closer. Furthermore, it appears that just as there was a multiplication of the spirit of Elijah on Elisha, so also Luke intends to portray the same between Jesus and the disciples. The interlocking structure between the ending of Luke and the beginning of Acts identified by Richard Longenecker suggests further that there is a very close connection in Luke's text between Luke 24:49 and similar wording in Acts 1:8: "You will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you."¹²² This power comes upon them in Acts 2 with force and focus that surpasses any accounting of the descent of the Holy Spirit on Jesus. Just as Jesus was declared to be "Son of the Most High" so Jesus' disciples, as promised in Luke 6:35, become sons of the Most High. What follows in Acts is episode after episode in which, through the Holy Spirit, the "sunrise from on High" (Luke 1:78) dawns upon people radiating outward from the disciples in Acts 2 as they defeat the powers of darkness with the power of God that rapidly extends beyonds material boundaries (Acts 7:48).¹²³

There is a sense, then, in which "clothed with power from on High" may be considered a brief commentary on the whole book of Acts, anticipated in the closing words of Jesus in Luke's gospel. The clothing language is thus intentional, utilizing metaphorical clothing language to create a link between the symbolism of Jesus' non-metaphorical clothing and the work of the disciples in Acts. As such, it is used in order to signal a correspondence between the transfer of the power of God from Elijah to Elisha,

121. *Káθου* in 2 Kings 2:2, 4, 6; *καθίστατε* in Luke 24:49; see J. Severino Croatto, "Jesus, Prophet like Elijah, and Prophet-Teacher like Moses in Luke-Acts," *JBL* 124, no. 3 (2005): 451–65, 456–7.

122. See Bruce W. Longenecker, *Rhetoric at the Boundaries: The Art and Theology of New Testament Chain-Link Transitions* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2005), esp. 166–70.

123. This "dawning of light" motif is most noticeable in the account of Paul's conversion in Acts 9:3, 17; cf. Acts 22:6–11, 25:13–18.

and the transfer from Jesus to his disciples, thereby symbolizing both the nature and extent of this power. Moreover, like Luke's use of clothing imagery at Jesus' transfiguration, this symbolism is used at a strategic literary location, evoking a certain imagery that creates reflection at the closing chapter and anticipation and expectation for the chapter to come.

Summary

In both the account of Jesus' healing of the Gerasene demon-possessed man and in the parable of the Lost Son humans are portrayed in clothing to symbolize a status transfer. Both are in service to a kingdom not belonging to God, and both are transferred out of that kingdom into God's kingdom. In the first case, the focus is on Jesus' power to deliver humanity from the power of darkness. In the second case, the focus is on the ability of repentance and trust in God to deliver one from the desperation of going astray from his dominion. Yet clothing does not merely symbolize a change in status. Interestingly, Luke gives no clothing portrayal of Jesus after his death. Rather, after the death of death in the resurrection of Jesus, his clothing of divine glory becomes transferred to his disciples. In this way there is continuity established between status transfer and function transfer. This is already prefigured by the account of Jesus clothing the man who had been demon-possessed, for his clothing is directly connected to his witness of God's power. Likewise, the clothing of the disciples after Jesus' resurrection is a symbolic portrayal of their new divine-human identity as those who powerfully display the works of God to expand his kingdom. As such, they are carrying out their newly granted royal status portrayed through the clothing of the Lost Son, despised by the keepers of the Law, and yet truly working the righteous acts of God.

4.4 John the Baptist's Missing Clothing in Luke 3

While the focus of this analysis is on the positive portrayal of clothing on characters in Luke's gospel, paying attention to the notable "un-portrayal" of John the Baptist's clothing in Luke chapter three may help to shed further light on the nature of Luke's use of clothing symbolism. In Mark's account, John the Baptist is described as being "clothed with camel's hair (ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου), with a leather belt (ζώνην δερματίνην) around his waist" (1:6). This finds very similar expression in Matt 3:4: εἶχεν τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλου καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ. Given Luke's propensity towards utilizing clothing imagery, it is surprising that this detail is missing in his narratives of John the Baptist. Why the omission?

It may be the case that Luke envisioned members within his larger intended audience who could have potentially been put off by John the Baptist's wilderness clothing. As such, as part of Luke's apologetic purposes, in a manner akin to Josephus, he may have omitted it in order to eliminate possible offense and portray John the Baptist in the fully positive light that Luke intends. This possibility is somewhat speculative, however, and a more likely, though not necessarily exclusive, reason presents itself.

It is widely acknowledged that the description of John the Baptist's clothing in Matthew and Mark is a clear allusion to the description of Elijah in 2 Kings 1:8 as an ἄνθρωπος δασύς καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περιεζωσμένος τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ.¹²⁴ As such this link plays an important part in the agenda in both gospels to create a link between the coming Elijah

124. See e.g. W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *The Gospel According to Matthew*, 3 vols., ICC (London: T&T Clark, 1988), 1:295-6; John Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 139; R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 169; and C. S. Mann, *Mark*, AB 27 (New York: Doubleday, 1986), 196.

of Mal 3:23-24 and John the Baptist (cf. Matt 16:14, 17:11-13; Mark 8:28, 9:13). Yet these direct links between Elijah and John the Baptist are downplayed in Luke,¹²⁵ since he draws no connection between these two figures near Jesus' transfiguration, like Matthew and Mark do. For Matthew and Mark, then, there is a simple patterning between Elijah and Elisha and John and Jesus that is missing in Luke.

At the same time, however, Luke does not fail to create a connection between John the Baptist and Elijah. Luke 1:17 explicitly draws a link between the two figures in clearly alluding to Mal 3:23 (LXX), which is linked to Mal 3:1, which draws on Isa 40:3.¹²⁶ With respect to John the Baptist, these passages are alluded to again in Luke 1:76, and linked explicitly in Luke 7:27. So then in Luke's larger scheme, John the Baptist is figured on Elijah, but so is Jesus, and based on the analysis above, it appears quite obvious that Jesus is correlated more to Elijah than John is. Based on this it appears that Luke is presenting a complex Elijah-Elisha paradigm through which the continuity between John the Baptist and Jesus, and then Jesus and his disciples, is viewed. Given the purview of Matthew's and Mark's gospels, they present John the Baptist and Jesus within a simple Elijah-Elisha paradigm in which there is a simple correlation between characters. This correlation is set up in part by the John the Baptist's clothing. But for Luke there is a more complex correlation, in which Elijah correlates to multiple figures as the Elijah-Elisha paradigm is transposed onto both John and Jesus as well as Jesus and his disciples. John is the coming prophet, but not *the* coming prophet.¹²⁷ As shown in the

125. Fitzmyer, *Luke I*, 213, notes that the role of *Elias redidivus* is attributed to Jesus by John implicitly in 3:16 and explicitly in 7:19, but then reversed by Jesus in quoting Mal 3:1 in 7:27.

126. Pao and Schnabel, "Luke," 258.

127. Peter Böhlemann, *Jesus und der Täufer: Schlüssel zur Theologie und Ethik des Lukas*, SNTSMS 99 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 213-274.

analysis above, Jesus fulfills the role of Elijah far beyond that of John.¹²⁸ It is sensible, then, that Luke does not create a material link between John and Elijah by means of John's clothing in order to leave the paradigm more open for what follows with Jesus and his disciples.

128. Croatto, "Jesus, Prophet like Elijah, and Prophet-Teacher like Moses in Luke-Acts," argues that there are multiple Elijah's in view based on the Elijah-Elisha cycle as well as the prophetic references to the coming Elijah. In line with his argument, we might say that the figuration of John --> Jesus --> Disciples corresponds to Elijah 1 --> Elisha 1 = Elijah 2 --> Elisha 2.

Chapter 5

Summary and Conclusion

As we have seen, clothing portrayal in both ancient Roman literature and New Testament texts could be used with frequency to symbolically convey meaning about the wearer of that clothing, and its portrayal has the capacity to convey that meaning in critical locations within narrative, thereby functioning to convey further meaning at the larger narrative level. Not only does clothing create a vivid literary portrayal in order to display the character and identity of the person wearing it, but it keys the reader's attention into the larger role or roles of the main character(s) within the story, especially as that role is inextricably linked with the character's identity. In this way clothing symbolism reflects the values prized by the author as framed within his or her cultural world and displayed through the literary world constructed by the author.

Virgil's hero Aeneas (Chapter 3.1) can be traced throughout the story in his valiant ascent to ruler of Rome with his donning of the toga-like *amictus*. As such, he forms the core identity of what it means to be Roman in virtue and character as displayed throughout Aeneas' interaction with various other characters throughout the story in the achievement of this divinely destined goal to conquer his enemies and bring salvation to his people. When this is in jeopardy, and his character is in risk of compromise at the service of Dido, the reader is confronted with Aeneas vividly portrayed in Eastern clothing. But when he reaches the final challenge to prove his worth and valor, and faces the final hurdle to bringing salvation and righteousness to his people, he arrives on the

scene in divine radiant glory in classic Roman military cuirass. Other significant characters in the story stand or fall dressed in the *amictus*, depending on their stance of alliance or enmity with Aeneas as it aligns with their character.

Although Suetonius (Chapter 3.2) is not a purposed story-teller in any manner akin to Virgil, clothing still plays an important role in his portrayals of two key emperors in the Julio-Claudian dynasty in *de Vita Caesarum*. Augustus is the exemplar of Roman virtue *par excellence*, with little character flaw, and as such is the foundation of the family dynasty on whose merit the imperial family stands. Likewise, Suetonius frames his account of Augustus with references to his *toga virilis* ceremony, and presents Augustus as always dressing "in the right." By extreme contrast is Nero, who not only notably lacks the *toga*, but at each stage of his downward spiral into depravity and vice, is dressed as a Greek at best or as an insane woman at worst. At the end, as his life grows pale and death is near, so his clothing become pale and desperate, and remains entirely "un-Roman." His reign and death form the fitting end to the family dynasty.

Josephus (Chapter 3.3), although of high-born Jewish heritage, does not lack similar literary uses of clothing in his *Antiquitates Judaicae*. A good quantity of extra-biblical material is found therein that describes the clothing of Moses and Solomon as reflecting both the high degree of moral character and virtue possessed by these men, who represent the establishment of the Jewish constitution and the zenith of Jewish hegemony, respectively. Moses' importance is also inextricably linked to the establishment of the priesthood and its critical role in maintaining the welfare of the Jewish state. As such, the clothing of the priesthood plays a fundamental role in *AJ*, in reflecting the presence of God, along with his righteous character, among the priesthood

and, by extension, among the people. With a failure in character comes a failure in proper dress, directly resulting in the failure of the Jewish state and the destruction of the temple. Whereas Solomon's glorious clothing marks the high point of his reign before the tragic ironic twist of his decline and the decline of the Jewish state, the corruption of the priestly clothing sounds the death knell of the Jewish temple and state.

In the same way as these three authors, Luke is careful to portray important facets of the identities of the characters in his story, and the connections these identities have to their roles in the story, through the portrayal of clothing. Jesus as the hero and character of overwhelming focus in Luke's gospel story is the prime candidate for this. Luke balances his portrayal of Jesus' divine identity with that of his royal human identity through his portrayal of Jesus in swaddling clothes, which receive focus as a sign to the shepherds of the reality of his identity. Holding a more fundamental and central place in Luke's narrative is his portrayal of Jesus' Transfiguration clothing on the mountain, by which a complex array of narratives are taken up and interwoven to link Jesus' identity with the Danielic Ancient of Days, the divine glory of the Tabernacle, and the persons of Moses, Elijah and Elisha, and the Isaianic conquering redeemer (Isa 59-63), reinforced in part by the absence of John the Baptist's clothing. This passage forms a core turning point in the gospel narrative as his cruciform suffering and subsequent ascension are impending. His garment of saving power and divine glory at least partly links to these narrative strands in the episode of the healing of the woman in Luke 8:44, and Luke reminds the reader of Jesus' identity as we see a glimmer of his divine glory as he approaches the cross in Luke 23:11, the climax of the gospel story.

Jesus' identity, like that of Aeneas, the hero of Virgil's story, in terms of his heritage, the quality of his virtuous character, and even his divine-like being, is portrayed through his clothing. The display of virtuous character qualities in Suetonius' Augustus is akin to this as well. But especially notable is the parallel to the portrayal of Aeneas' clothing: Jesus is portrayed with divine splendor at the very turning point in the narrative when the hero reaches the final obstacle to prove his worth, bring salvation to his people, and defeat his enemies.

There are at the same time crucial differences between Jesus and Aeneas. Jesus has no lapse in character and therefore has no "lapse" in clothing. Both figures are conquerors, but Jesus' mode of conquering is entirely inverted as he does so by means of taking the path of shame, dishonor, suffering, and death for the sake of others. Aeneas' path is that of grasping honor, glory, and power for the self. Accordingly, the salvation brought by Jesus and Aeneas have very different qualities. Although both are concerned with the restoration of their people and the establishment of righteousness in reflection of divine will, Aeneas' salvation falls closely along ethnic lines and results directly in death for those who do not succumb to his power. To some degree, the same may arguably be said of Jesus' salvation. Yet his salvation takes on an entirely different quality as it is fundamentally marked by power to transform people, to entirely shift their allegiance from antagonistic against his kingdom to servants of it. Thus while Aeneas' salvation is ultimately marked by bloodshed and death, Jesus' salvation is ultimately marked by restoration to life. And while Luke's gospel is primarily about the restoration of Israel, unlike Aeneas' project, it cannot be said to be drawing exclusive ethnic divisions. Likewise, the portrayal of Aeneas' clothing is always ethnically determined - i.e. it is

concerned with the Roman toga or lack thereof, and necessarily includes military garb. Suetonius' description of the emperors' clothing falls along similar lines. On the other hand, the portrayal of Jesus' clothing is largely generic, with the character qualities of Jesus related by means of descriptive adjectives, such as "white," with an exception being that of the tassels.

There are certain similarities between clothing portrayals in Josephus and Luke. There is a certain degree of humility in character that is linked to Moses' clothing in Josephus and Jesus' birth clothing in Luke. A greater similarity may be found in Josephus' portrayal of the priests and of Solomon. For Josephus, virtuous character and divine presence are closely intertwined with the priestly garb throughout his narrative, and Solomon's appearance in white surrounded by purple and radiant attire at the zenith of his career is strongly suggestive of a divine-royal manifestation through his reign. Likewise Jesus' divine quality is displayed through his clothing, which Luke also ties into the royal motifs of his narrative. At the same time it must be noted that Luke's portrayal of Jesus' divine glory far surpasses any portrayal in Josephus, corresponding to the unique divine-human categories in which Luke places Jesus. Lastly, it is notable that, with the obvious exception of the high priest's clothing by Josephus, and the tassels on Jesus' clothing by Luke, neither author is particularly exclusive, ethnically speaking, in clothing portrayals. Insofar as they both have literary purposes that cross ethnic boundaries, ethnic divisions are largely absent in their literary portrayals.

Finally, rather unique to Luke is his portrayal of clothing with regard to characters besides Jesus in his narrative. The reader meets the Gerasene demoniac in a state of utter shame and hopelessness, held captive to the kingdom of darkness. But his encounter with

Jesus' royal-divine power does not result in the death appropriate to his allegiance. Rather his dignity is restored and he is given new life and purpose in serving a new master, clothed appropriately to do so. Likewise the "sinners and tax collectors," parabolically represented by the Lost Son, are described by Jesus not as shamed for their current state, but as bestowed with honor and dignity symbolized by the clothing. Although the former focuses on Jesus' royal power and the latter focuses on the need for repentance and re-alignment of the sinner's will, in both episodes clothing represents a shift in status from that of shame to that of honor as it corresponds to a shift in kingdom allegiance and status. Yet the clothing also represents much more than status. The Gerasene demoniac is demonstrated to have gained a new power and ability to function for God's purposes. Although the immediate context of the parable of the Lost Son seems to only have status in its immediate symbolic purview, the passage operates within the value of the character quality of faithfulness and ultimately stands within Luke's narrative trajectory of the restoration of divine-human clothing to humanity in the pivotal point of the grand narrative in Luke 24 through Acts 2. With Jesus' earthly work accomplished, he passes on his 'cloak' of divine power to his disciples, who are transformed to carry on the work that he performed while wearing it. Thus the status symbol of clothing in Luke is ultimately inseparable from the symbol of divinely empowered virtuous character that sets out to accomplish the divine will of righteousness and salvation. Similar to the other authors, Luke's clothing portrayal of literary characters works within symbolism of honor and shame as well as virtues and moral qualities. But unlike the others, Luke's clothing portrayal is used to display transformation to new status and new qualities of virtue. For Luke, clothing portrays the power of God to change people's lives into the character of

Jesus to reflect the divine being of God on an entirely new level. Clothing imagery is thus utilized to powerfully portray the restoration of the image of God to all of humanity.

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VITA

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